

ISSN 1343-8980

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年 報

平成31年度／令和元年度
(第23号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2019

Volume XXIII

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2020・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2020

A metrical version from Gandhāra of the ‘Miracle at Śrāvastī’ (Texts from the Split Collection 4)

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Abstract

Fourth part of the Split-Collection of Gāndhārī texts on birch-bark. A single sheet contains the episode called the Śrāvastī miracle, or the *yamakaprātihārya*, wherewith the Buddha put to rest all claims of the brahmin heretic Pūraṇa and his group aiming at political protection by the kings Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. This is the earliest preserved literary form of the narrative, first cent. AD, composed throughout in *mātrāccandas* meter. Any allusion to the so-called mango tree miracle is not apparent.

Keywords

Buddhist legends, Śrāvastī miracle, Gāndhārī Kharoṣṭhī mss, Split Collection.

The manuscript presented here belongs to the so-called “Split collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts”, encountered by the first author in the bazaar of Peshawar. Its origins are not fully clear, at least the find site is said to be Bajaur or its close vicinity in the tribal area of north-western Pakistan. Because the owners held more mss of the find, with some others already gone to different customers, the collection has been labeled “Split” to allow maintaining the term once other parts come to light, irrespective of their places of accommodation. Three of the five manuscripts have been published so far. One is a single segment from a birch-bark sheet containing a few stanzas of the Aṭṭhakavagga of the *Suttanipāta* (Falk 2011: 13-15), the second ms contains parts of the text of a Prajñā-pāramitā, a forerunner of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (Falk & Karashima 2012, 2013). The third text presents 90 stanzas of a further *Dharmapada* in Kharoṣṭhī (Falk 2015).

The contents of this forth text was first introduced in Falk 2011: 15f. and described in Falk & Strauch 2014: 68, taking it for a part of a Buddha vita. This view can be maintained, although it became apparent that the episode dealt with on this sheet runs parallel to what modern research calls the “Miracle of Śrāvastī”, more often the “Twin Miracle” building on the term *yamakaprātihārya* found in the younger Buddhist literature that arose once the Buddha produced fire and water from his body, a stage in the development of the narrative which presupposes Kushan modes of self-presentation first attested in the second cent. AD (Falk 2019: 43a).

¹. The Introduction and Conclusion are due to the first author, while the second author re-assembled the bark fragments and supported numerous aspects of understanding by a table of all Kharoṣṭhī letters and by a complete analysis of the narrative elements as found in the many variants known so far. Both authors worked to the same extent on the restitution of the text and the grammar part over many years.

The many texts containing this episode in Indic languages or in Tibetan or Chinese translations vary considerably and produced some dispute about what exactly that miracle is. In the standard form it is said to have taken place at Śrāvastī. The miracle was held necessary because the Buddha was asked to compete with a group of ambitious naked brahmin sādhus, led by one Pūraṇa. The group and its leader had lost royal patronage to the Buddhists and were convinced that they would be able to prove their superiority through magic and thereby return to their former status. When the time for performance came the Buddha resorted to a display of his superhuman luminosity. This was not magic (*māyā*) in the true sense of the word. The Buddha demonstrated supernatural faculties which these heretics could not counteract by any means. However, the term *māyā* is never used by any party. Instead we have *vikurvāṇa*, “change of shape”, to be effected by *rddhi*. With these means allowed, the ascetics believe to be on a par, while the Buddha is said in B26 that he could have been even more impressive had he reverted to *rddhi* too. The terminology remains enigmatic to some extent. In any case, the heretics were forced to admit their own defeat, without even trying to come up with the standard jugglery they would have been able to display.

This episode found a number of poets who reformulated and improved on it. All preserved versions date to the late Kushan period or are even younger (Rhi 1991: 5). The earliest Chinese version is a translation contained in the 法句譬喻經, *Fa-ju pi-yu jing*, T.211, and dates to AD 306 (Rhi 1991: 23). Three parts of the Split Collection underwent C14 checks, yielding dates from the first centuries BC and AD. The text presented here shows by its palaeographic features that it is not markedly younger than the other mss and therefore can count as the oldest roughly datable text on the subject, not later than the first century AD.

The episode is laid out on the two sides of one single sheet of birch-bark and no other episode seems to have preceded or followed it. Any allusion to the term *yamakaprāti-hārya* is not found anywhere. But we have to keep in mind that about one third of the rolled-up bark went missing after it was deliberately folded to the point of breaking away. In addition, some parts of the originally outermost layer of the rolled up bark got lost, but these lost parts were neither large nor substantial as only the start of side A was affected. After filling side A and for continuing on side B, the sheet was turned lengthwise, so that the lowest line of side A, now upside-down, received the topmost line of side B on its reverse. When the bark roll was folded and torn in two the now missing right part contained the first pādas of both sides. Comparing the numerous parallels the surviving parts allow for a reconstruction of the whole narration in rough outlines. Still, a number of uncertainties will remain.

What happens in our version, what sort of “magic” was shown by the Buddha? Comparative surveys of the elements of the complete story have been produced more than once. The best accessible one was prepared by Rhi (1991: 191), who shows in a handy chart that the emission of light by the Buddha is common to all versions, and that this spectacle was enlarged further and further by the younger versions. Nowhere at any stage of the narrative are the heretics performing in any way. They are restricted to witnessing the grandeur of the Buddha and succumbing to it.

Some authors building on the narrative as found in the Jātaka prose (Ja IV, 263f.; Dhp-a III, 199f., cf. Rhi 1991: 207, 221) expected to hear of a mango tree brought to rise

and fruition by the Buddha and find this event depicted in some panels at Bharhut and Sanchi. At Bharhut, two panels placed one below the other depict the decent of the Buddha from the Tuṣita heaven and the human spectators in the panel immediately below see how a tree near the place where the Buddha touches the earth instantly produces fruit. This is no magic of the Buddha but an expression of nature displaying its joy over the Buddha being around. The same joy of nature finds its artistic expression by the artists when they adorn the lintels on top of the stūpa railing with flowering tendrils where the enthused flowers emit all sorts of jewelry. At Sanchi one single panel shows the ladder leading down from the Tuṣita heaven, with one fruit-less tree in heaven and one fruiting tree on earth. This I take as the same situation, with the tree in heaven marking the time the Buddha left heaven and nature reacting with joy to the Buddha on earth. Magic on the side of the Buddha is not required. The tree was an essential part of the descent, at Sāṃkāśyā, seven days after the descent's announcement. The sort of tree can vary. It is an Udumbara in Chinese translations, and a *gandambara* in the Jātakas. It seems that the two myths merged and that the sprouting tree from the descent at Sāṃkāśyā turned into a product of magic in the defeat of the heretics around Pūraṇa at Śrāvastī. But this merger happened after the first century AD and thus we should not be disappointed when no mango tree arises from a dry kernel in our manuscript.

As in most parallels, there are five parties involved in the basic narrative. First come two kings, Bimbisāra of Rājagrha and Prasenajit of Kosala, and then two religious factions, the naked ascetics around Pūraṇa and the Buddha with his wandering *saṅgha*. By name we find the “king of Kosala” preserved, the chief heretic Pūraṇa, and the Buddha. The dialogues presuppose the presence of the second king as well, although his capital and his name remain unmentioned in the preserved lines. The fifth element is a *yakṣa*, mentioned in our text as well, who punishes the heretics after their disastrous non-performance.

We refrain from pursuing text-critical comparisons regarding minor features, whether they are found or not in our version, because negative results could always result from passages gone with the missing bark. But it seems that our text is not only the oldest one with regard to its physical presence, but it contains also the most simple and straightforward narrative which in succeeding times was open to the preferences and abilities of the many poets who felt like trying their skills in enlarging it.

Autograph or copy?

As this text is the oldest one on the subject found so far, dating from the first century AD, with seemingly no further copy or reworked version of it we may wonder whether the birch-bark preserves the autograph of the author or whether what we have is already a copy made from an older exemplar. There are only two pieces of evidence:

1) Pāda B15b lists three names of highly respected monks in unmistakable letters: *kacayana ṇaada revado thero*. The first two names defy metrics unless we scan them in the not infrequent form of - - - -; the last two names provide the cadence (- - - -). All four add up to Skt *kātyāyano nando revatas therah*. This group of names is build on the group of *mahāśrāvakas* occurring as *-kāśyapa-nanda-revata-prabhṛtayah*, as preserved in the *Avadānaśataka*. The *mahāśrāvaka kāśyapa* was changed to *kacayana*, obliterating the meter, but preventing a confusion of this monk with the four “they call the *kāśyapa*—

gotra" mentioned in the following line B15c.² Revata occurs as a *thera* several times also in the Apadāna. A tolerable scan arises only once we interpret the written *ṇaāḍa* as *ṇāḍa*, Skt. *nanda*, disregarding the additional *-a-*. We surmise that this *-a-* came to be through a misinterpretation of an *anusvāra*-bend at the foot of the *ṇa* - which was to make clear that *ṇam* has to be read. This in turn was regarded by a copyist as an inserted *a*, identical in shape, and transposed from the bottom of the letter to a position succeeding it on the main line.

2) There are two sort of nasals discernible, the hook-like *na* in *ṇaāḍa* and a more wavy sort of *na* (Fig. 1,g) in *kacayana*, a direct successor of the dental *na* as used in the Aśokan edicts. In most of the mss from the first century AD as everywhere else in our birch-bark apart from *kacayana*, the dental wavy *na* has given way to the one-for-all *na* (Fig. 1,h). Only rarely the old *na* was maintained by oversight or misapprehension. Such a mistake may have led to our form *kacayana* and it may have come from a ms which still preserved dental *nas*.

That means we have two irregularities, both explicable in reference to standard palaeographic writing mistakes. The exemplar consulted by our author, whatever its topic was, seems to have distinguished between hook-like *na* and wavy *na*, and it should have used *anusvāra* bends, while our text outside the two cases ignores both at large. Since both pieces occur in a single line containing some names famous from another text, it is quite possible that our poet looked for inspiration from a completely or partially different text. In that case our palaeographic irregularities show only that there were older written texts consulted for names of background actors, but not that older written forms of the Miracle at Śrāvastī were used for that purpose.

We regard the manuscript as an autograph, because such copying mistakes of said nature would not be transported to sub-copies. On the other hand, we can expect older versions of the story to have existed, possibly in prose, possibly even written down in Gāndhārī, of which we have no trace so far.

Pūraṇa the Maukhari

The reference to a Kāśyapa *gotra* brahmin of the Kātyāyana *pravara* shows that the author had knowledge of the standard social affiliations of the persons active in this story. In a stereotype *pāda* occurring three times (*puraṇa kaśavo mokhaliputro*, A23b, 28b, B25b), we learn that the author thought Pūraṇa to be a brahminical *kāśyapa* as well, and a *mokhaliputra* in addition. This latter compound can either mean that Pūraṇa is a Maukhari by birth (cf. *vanikputra*), or rather that he was a non-brahmin, that is a Maukhari, from his fathers side. Every *kāśyapa maukhariputra* must have been regarded with contempt by pure brahmins and ruling castes alike.³

The clan of the Maukharis became politically active during and after the Guptas, mainly in Vidarbha and southern Magadha. There is little evidence to date the group

² It would be possible to preserve the name *kācāyana*, as this *pravara* is a sub-branch of the Kāśyapa *gotra* according to the *Gotrapravararamaṇjarī* (Brough 1953: 164, 168). The more widely known Kātyāyana *pravara* produces an identical Prākrit form, but this group belongs to the Viśvāmitra *gotra* (cf. Brough 1953: 153, 157), and so contrasts with the "four Kāśyapas" in the following line.

³ According to Baudhāyana, offspring of a brahmin couple of the same *gotra* will lose the link to the original *gotra* of the father and will be regarded as a *kaśyapa* (Brough 1953: 203).

earlier in time, apart from one single seal found at Bodhgayā, incised in a Brāhmī script allegedly “of the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C.”, reading *mokhalikāśa*, “(seal) of Mokhalika”.⁴ Already its excavator, A. Cunningham (1892: 50) inferred that the Prakrit legend may well somehow⁵ refer to the Maukharis who later had intermarried with the Guptas, and that this was “by far the earliest record” of the clan. The mention of a *mokhaliputra* in our text occupies a middle position between the seal of BC times from Bodhgayā and the era of the Guptas. The center of activity of this clan was Vidarbha and Magadha, in line with the dissatisfaction of Pūraṇa with the success of the Buddha which started at Rājagr̥ha. And the seal was found at nearby Bodhgayā. So a geographical consistency is apparent. Phonetically, the early seal reading *mokhalikāśa* and our term *mokhaliputra* are in line by using an *l*, while the more recent and sanskritized form Maukhari uses an *r*, in accordance with the changed spelling habits in Bihar after about AD 200.

No other text on the Buddha’s life refers to Pūraṇa as a member of the Maukhari clan and so the historical reality of this attribution will remain a matter of personal judgement.

Transliteration

In general, the scribe uses standard Kharoṣṭhī characters without elaborate footmarks. It must be noted that there are three letters with noteworthy variants. The first one is the dental sibilant occurring in its standard form of *sa* and in a long-drawn “corkscrew” shape ending in a short bend to the lower right (Fig. 1,c). Next comes a simple *ga* (Fig. 1,f) and an identical form ending in a pronounced horizontal line to the lower right (Fig. 1,e). Both variants are rather frequently used by other scribes. Not common is the pair of an ordinary *da* (Fig. 1,b) and a second dental ending in a semi-circular bend to the lower left (Fig. 1,a).



Fig. 1: Regular letters and variants.

Starting from the rather common under-barred *ga* (Fig. 1,e) other cases of under-bar led to attempts at similarly transcribing comparably shaped footmarks. As there are a number of scribes using the under-bar to the lower right of *da*,⁶ a transliteration *da* has come into use, replacing an older “accented” *da*. We find no such under-barred *da* in our

⁴. This is the correct reading of Cunningham (1892: 50). He was not sure about the closing sibilant, and in fact it is not a standard *sa*, but a *śa*, which was used in the particular orthography of the seal-cutters of northern India, and only in BC times. A series of cases is collected in Falk (2018: 61f.). Prior to Cunningham, Fleet (1888: 15) had published its reading as *mokhalinām*, “of the Mokhalis, Maukhalis, or Maukharis”, disregarding the *śa* in the second line. As far as I can see, only the faulty reading of Fleet lives on in discussions (Avavamuthan 1925: 78) on the early history of the Maukharis.

⁵. There are two possibilities. Either *mokhalika* is referring to the local provenance, just like *tabapanaka* at Bodhgayā shows that a donor came from Tāmraraparṇa (Cunningham 1892: 16). Or this is a hypocoristic abbreviation, just like *guptaka* can be used for Candragupta (Renou 1953: 9). In both cases a relation with the Maukhari dynasty is probable.

⁶. Very frequently used in the *Gośrīgasūtra*, (Silverlock 2015).

text and so the first impression was that our lower left under-bend would be used in exchange for the lower right under-bar. Both letters stand where in Sanskrit a single inter-vocalic *t* or *d* has its place. The cases of original *t* are more numerous than those of an original *d*, but this only represents the general distribution of these two consonants. However, there is a not infrequent difference between our critical letter and the standard *da*: while *da* can stand anywhere, including in initial position,⁷ our under-bent letter never begins a word. It needs a vowel preceding it. This reminds of similar developments in Iranian languages, where post-vocalic spoken /t/ can become lenated to /d/ or further to /ð/ or be lost completely. “Post-vocalic” implies that the lenated sound does not open the word, and it also allows consonants to immediately follow the *ð*. Such a development *t*→*d*→*ð*→∅, as known from Sogdian, would perfectly represent what we observe in our text where lenation of unaspirated non-initial dentals can come in one or more steps, while hardening in any form is not found (outside clerical mistakes). Consequently, we transcribe the *da*-like letter with *bend* to the lower left with *ða*, thus allowing to maintain the transcription *da* for more or less the same sound⁸ where-ever the *da* with under-bar to the lower right occurs.

A standard written *t* preserves spoken Gāndhārī /t/ in word-initial position; in most other cases it renders a geminated spoken /tt/ or a /tt/ resulting from Prakritic combinations with *t*.

The letter *śa* may show the traditional flat roof, or it may resemble a *ya*-like triangle; the *śa* is a standard old *śa* with a curl added on the lower right foot, while *śra* adds a horizontal line to the right.

Similarly, a *sa* comes in two forms, one the classical *sa* (Fig. 1,d) and one sometimes called the corkscrew *sa*, longish in comparison, starting with an upper curl and ending below in a bend towards the right (Fig. 1,c). Their use is markedly different. The *sa* always starts a word, two cases of initial *su-* may be regarded as slip of the pen. Within a word, -*s-* stands for spoken /ss/ generally derived from gen.m.n.sg -*tasya*. The standard *sa* is also used for clusters with following -*pa*, -*va*, -*ma*, while *sa* is never united in a ligature. It is found in intervocalic position for simple -*s-* and for inherited -*tha-* and -*dha*. A single case (A11c) of *sa* for spoken /ssa/ from -*sya* is regarded as erroneous. No rule seems to disallow either *s* or *ś* in verb forms with preceding nasal, 3rd pl. in -*msu*, irrespective of the preceding vowel, be it *i*, *u* or *a*. In such positions both sibilant signs are found in equal distribution.

The text

This edition aims at presenting the new text in a way that facilitates an overview of most

⁷. A comparison with the Sanskrit cognates of the vocabulary in which they occur shows that 60% of our Gāndhārī δ-cases go back to simple intervocalic Sanskrit spoken /t/. Random examples are *sugadasa*, Skt. *sugatasya* (A9b); *praniða*, Skt. *pranītam* (A11b); *nīthiða*, Skt *nīṣṭhitam* (A18d). The same letter is also used for standard *d*, e.g. in *tada*, Skt. *tadā* (A7b); *diśaðaśu* Skt. *diśādaśasu* (A9c). For initial position cf. δe[vaða], *devatā* (Silverlock 2015, 659); δe, Skt *te* (Salomon 2008: 442b); δasa, Skt *tasya*; δi, Skt *iti* (Glass 2007: 244b, 245a).

⁸. Cf. Glass 2000: 76: “In the Senior collection *ta* and *da* are both written with *da* [letter looking more like *ta* than *da*, hf] (20v 5-16) in initial position or when representing a geminate, but appear as *ða* [narrow S with bar to the lower right. “*ða*” in the meantime is superseded by “*da*”; hf] (20r 15-2) in intervocalic position.”

of its aspects without requiring the use of two or more bookmarks. First we count the stanzas on the obverse of the birch-bark, from A1 to A39, one line being equal to one stanza. Then follow the verses on the reverse from B1 to B35. There is no apparent break in the story from the A- to the B-side. Every stanza is preceded by a header which tries to summarize its contents. We are not certain to have grasped all contents without doubt and the headers in their succession are mainly meant to help finding where we failed.

There follows three columns. The first one contains a transcription of what can be read, already with word-separating spaces and occasional hyphens. We are fully aware of the dangers of such a procedure, which introduces our personal interpretations at this prime level.

The diacritics are those used in most editions in this journal: “+” stand for space of one letter missing, erased or broken away; “..” is a letter visible in part, but this part does not allow us to safely guess at its full shape. Square brackets enclose letters which are damaged, but can be recognized. A central dot “.” marks a vowel stroke missing where the birch-bark is damaged. Round brackets present text erased or broken away which can be assumed to have stood there, mainly on the basis of parallels in this text itself.

The second column contains the Sanskrit *chāyā*, a convenient way to show what we think the Gāndhārī letters are meant to express, introduced to Kharoṣṭhī editions in 2003 by O. von Hinüber. No *sandhi* is applied, but Sanskrit inflection is used even when formally different from Gāndhārī counterparts that in some cases are closer to Vedic or BHS equivalents.

This has a bearing on the third column, which presents the metrical analysis. Since strict rules underlie the meters used an analysis is needed to check whether the meter would be violated by the semantic explanation inherent in the *chāyā*. The cadence is separated by a space for easy distinction between Vaitalīya (-~--~) and Vegavatī (-~--~).

There follows a translation according to *pādas*, and occasionally remarks on open questions or parallel expressions.

There is no formal forerunner or successor to the phrases used in our metrical version, but we could compare the narrative elements of younger parallels. However, there is hardly any case of a near relationship, and pointing at vague parallels would lead to the question as to whether similar expressions are testimony for direct acquaintance, or whether differences are deliberate or accidental. Answers to such a question we leave to the devotees of literary criticism and their refined taste.

Metrics

a) The standard *mātrāchandas* forms used

The whole composition is held in *mātrāchandas* metres where a stanza has four lines (*pāda*). Syllables ending in long vowels and/or closing nasals count 2 units (“-”), while syllables ending in short vowels count 1 (“~”). The odd lines add up to 14 units and the even ones to 16. Each line consists of an opening of 6 (odd *pādas*) or 8 (even *pādas*) units and a fixed cadence of 8 (all *pādas*). The *mātrāchandas* meters are three in number, called Vaitalīya, Vegavatī, and Aupacchandasikā, where the latter adds an additional syllable to the cadence, enlarging it from 8 to 10 beats. Why there are *pādas* of 14, 16 and 18 beats is so far unexplained. We only learn that this group of metres is

used as “canto metres in the *mahākāvyas* (...), but their musical origin had then been long forgotten and they were simply fixed metres having certain structures like any other fixed metres” (Warder 1967: 136). Since the same number of variants matches the basic musical modulations called *grāma* (similar to modern *rāgas*) with 14, 16 and 18 beats it may be proposed that a definition of the *ṣadja-grāma* in the Aumāpatam (31, Vonessen 1996: 78) may be adduced to explain the relationship: The text seems to say that all 7 notes of a gamut can be played in sequence twice, whether twice up or once up and once down we are not told.⁹ This (2×7) would account for 14 beats. The basic note *sadja*, the tonica, can then be placed at the end for a second or third time, which augments the number of beats to 16 and 18. How this sounded can only be guessed, but the idea seems to have been to use all 7 notes of the gamut, for the 14 beats of an odd *pāda*, and then repeat this process and end with the tonica on 2 beats to complete the even *pādas*. For particular purposes this final long *sadja* can occur for yet another time, producing 18 beats in even *pādas*.

Of the three forms the variety called Vaitalīya is most frequent in Pali lyrics, with a characteristic cadence of 8 units $\sim\sim\sim\simeq$, where the last syllable is either long or prolonged when short (*anceps*, “ \simeq ”), thus measured long irrespective of its extra-metrical status.

The second variant is the Vegavatī with a difference in the cadence of 8 units scanning as $\text{---}\text{--}\text{=}$ and this is the meter used here predominantly. We find Vaitalīya lines only in 17 cases, and the Aupacchandasikā extention of the Vaitalīya in still less three cases. The two forms of a *mātrāchandas* can be mixed freely as long as they distinguish between the shorter odd and the longer even forms.

In contrast to the metrically fixed cadences, the opening admits a number of variants. Because of the broken part of the bark of our page the first *pāda* of every stanza is missing and therefore our overall statistics are defective. But the third and likewise uneven *pādas* (c) are preserved and most often they start with 6 units scanning ～～～～ (19 times, not counting repeated stanzas), ～～～ (14), ～～～～ (6), ～～～ (4), ～～～～ (4). - ～～～ (3), ～～～ (2?), ～～～～ (2).

The long lines of 16 units in the *pādas* (b) and (d) show the following distribution of their openings: - - - - - (70), - - - - - (9), - - - - - (9), - - - - - (7), - - - - - (4), - - - - - (2). Singular and doubtful are - - - - (1: B21b), - - - - (1: B14d), - - - - - (1: A9b).

That means that 86 lines start a regular *Vegavatī* with -~ and only 28 deviate by not showing yet another -~ in the opening. The standard in our *Vegavatī* cases is:

14: 6 units | -~ ~ -~ ||
16: -~ ~ -~ ~ | -~ ~ -~ ||

The Vaitalīya lines ending in $\text{---}\text{---}\text{=}$ are rather rare compared to those following the Vegavatī pattern. The openings of the short uneven *pādas* (c) measure 14 units as $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ (2), $\text{---}\text{---}$ (1: A7c) or $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ (1: B22c). The 16 units *pādas* (b) and (d) show the same $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ regular long opening 11 times (without counting the repetitions). In addition we find variants as $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ (1: A11d) and $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ (1: B35d).

There are three cases of Aupacchandasikā, two of them (B5c, 35c) enlarging a short

^{9.} The Dattilam stanza 104 calls a gradual rise and then descent through all notes *prenkholita* (Wiersma-te Nijenhuis 1970: 35).

uneven *pāda* (c) and one concerns a long *pāda* (B13b). The cadence is the one of the Vaitalīya (---) which receives one additional long syllable at the end. It is conspicuous that this extended meter supports important words. In B5c the “mass”, *prabhūta*, comes with this “massy” meter; in B13b it is the word *svayambhu* used for the Buddha, and in B35c it is *anyalokadhātu*, a better world to live in for the Yakṣa.

Rules for scanning

The general difficulties of Gāndhārī metrical texts have been summarized more than once, as in Salomon 2008: 164ff., dealing mainly with *śloka*-derived forms, Melzer (2017) with Śārdūlavikṛīdītā; Glass (2001) deals with the varieties found in the Khotan Dharmapada. On the possible use of the Triṣṭubh metre for Buddhist compositions originally in Gāndhārī cf. Salomon & Baums (2007: 203, fn. 3). In contrast to Pali or other Prakrits written in Brāhmī-derived scripts, Gāndhārī written in Kharoṣṭhī produces considerable impediments by not marking long vowels. However, in a number of ways the meter is helpful in finding possible Sanskritizations or excluding others. Comparing our text to other metrical compositions in Gāndhārī we see a number of rules common to all, but also a number of digressions so that we have to live with the insight that there is no “Gāndhārī meter” as such, but overlapping groups of conventions which vary with each author, dependent on place of origin and time.

Short and long syllables

Geminatae

Doubled consonants (*geminatae*) are not expressed in the Kharoṣṭhī script, but they are pronounced in recitation. As a rule the first one closes the preceding syllable, making it heavy, *guru* (-), while the second consonant opens the following one. Or, in the words of Melzer (2017: 15) regarding a text from Bajaur: “[t]he syllable before original consonant clusters—in whatever form they appear—remains in all cases metrically heavy”. Our text provides a single exception in A14c where two expected geminata groups follow each other in *upano* ~-~|| ← *utpannah/upanno*, which would lead to a scan of --~. This violation of the meter can be explained by a rule formulated by E. Leumann that “im Nordarischen” a closed syllable in front of another closed syllable which carries the “Iktus”, the accent of the word, “kürzend auf die vorangehende Silbe einwirk[en kann]” (Watanabe 1912: 26). In cases found in our text, the “Iktus” always lies on the syllable containing the verbal root, and so /*upanno*/ - - ~ becomes /*upánnō*/ ~-~.

The other cases of geminate are, with begin (“-”) and end (“|”) of the cadence indicated:

- č* = /cc/ : *ačavado purve* -|---|| B21b ← *atyāvadat pūrve*.
- ch* = /cch/ : *supuche* ~-~|| A15b ← *supucchaiḥ*.
- j* = /jj/ : *aja* ~ A38d ← *adya*.
- ñ* = /ññ/ : *viñavañaraha* ----- A14b *vijñāpanārhañ*; *añe* ~ A26d, 31d ← *ajñāḥ*;
prañavi |-~ B4c ← *prajñapya*; *eṣapradīñā* ----- B23b ← *aiśyapratijñāḥ*.
- t* = /tt/ : *utarabhage* ~--- B4d ← *uttarabhāge*.
- th* = /tth/ : *ṇithiða* *ñāṇi* ~---~|| A18d ← *niṭhitam/niṣhitam*.
- n* = /nñ/ : *niṣāṇo* ~-~|| B14d *niṣāṇñāḥ*.
- p* = /pp/ : *pra* in *kṣipa* ~-~|| B10d ← *kṣipram*.

- ph* = /pph/ : *suphi* ~ A15b ← *susphik*.
m = /mm/ : *bramo* ~ B16d ← *brahmā*.
<ś> = /śś/ : *daśīno* ~ B14d ← *dakṣine*; *kaśayati* ~ ~ ~ || A23d ← *kathayanti*.
s = /ss/ : *sugadasa* ~ ~ ~ A22d ← *sugatasya*; *tasa* ~ B14b ← *tasya*.

Consonant clusters

Post-consonantal *r* or *v* in the first syllable is metrically ignored and thus the prefixes *pra*° and *pra* in *prati*° are counted as short (~), as does *sva* in *svayabhu* ~ ~ || ← *svayambhuḥ* B13b, B18b, B34c, *godamo svaya* ~ ~ ~ || B22c; *svage* ~ ~ ← *svakam* A16d.¹⁰

Post-consonantal *r* in medial position separates: *kṣip(r)a* ~ ~ B10d; *vicid-ra* ~ ~ A6b, B5b; *apratimasa*¹¹ ~ ~ ~ ~ A32d; *jīnap-rađivako* ~ | ~ ~ ~ || A26=31c; *yatra* ~ B7B. This applies also to the *r* from roots, as *vraj* in *parivrayagasamgha* ~ | ~ ~ ~ B10b; *abravi* *sasta* | ~ ~ ~ || B19c.

Pre-consonantal *r* always makes position, as in *irdhibalani* ~ ~ ~ ~ B22b, *sarva-* ~ A16b.

Post-consonantal *v* in medial position separates, as in *vid-va* ~ A18b ← *vidvān*; *sat-va* ~ A6b ← *sattva-*; *tus-ve* ~ B21b; *maṇat-vi* ~ ~ ~ || A17c ← *manasvī*; *viṣ-va* ~ B26c ← *viṣvag*. The same applies to the many absolutives in *-tva* (where the final *-va* always scans short).

Post-consonantal *p* separates: thrice in *taspa* ~ ~ ← *tasmāt* A9d, A10d, or ~ ~ in A26b = A31b; *jīnaspā* ← **jīnasmāt* in cadence ~ ~ ~ || A10c; *puṣpa* ~ B5c.

The singular *k* in A10c *sakaro* derives not from /sk/ as in many other cases, but from /tk/ ← *satkārah* and makes position: ~ ~.

In the cases of *st* and *sk* it seems that they were regarded as monophonemic: (*su*)*skamdhā* ~ ~ B13b; *hastimegha* ~ ~ ~ B34b; *utrasta* ~ ~ B31c ← *uttrastah*.

Closing nasals

Anusvāra (ṁ) closing a syllable makes position inside a word, but is irrelevant for a short syllable at the end of a word, in contrast the practice of many other Gāndhārī texts. B10d provides a single exception with *jeḍavano* ~ ~ ~ ~ ← *jetavanam*. This exception may be compared to what Lenz (2002,I: 25) described for the *dharmaṭada* fragments as “[e]tymologically nasalized vowels (Vm) are counted as long or short as appropriate to the meter”.

Aberrant forms

śakamuṇi A long /ū/ occurs in *śakamuṇi* (A14d), with *mu* being the first syllable of the cadence, reading *śaka|muni upaṇo* ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ||, while *u* in *upano* appears short. The same long /ū/ occurs in (*sadha*) . . . *śakamuṇiṇa* in A20=24=29d, which needs to scan as an

¹⁰. Written *pra* appears heavy in *pradarīa* ~ ~ ~ B33d, probably equating Skt **prādārya*, where a spontaneous merger of two prefixes into *prā* may have occurred. Both *pradī* and *ādī* describe a “breaking through”. For *dar*→*da* cf. an original *meridakha* (derived from Gr. *meridárhēs*) on the Taxila copperplate, overwritten to read *meri[a]kha* (so CKI 33).

¹¹. This is in clear opposition to what Edgerton (cited in Salomon 2000,I: 50) says about BHS: “If the preceding syllable ends in a short vowel, that syllable is metrically short, regardless of the number of consonants written at the beginning of the following word. . . .”

instrumental ~--- with a lengthened *mū*. Different is A10d *śakamuṇisa* ~---॥, where *mu* must be short. The lengthening could be explained through Skt *maunin*, Prakrit **moṇi*, identical in meaning to *muni*. This **śākyamaunī* can be found in *śakyamoniṣa* on the Indravarma casket.¹² The metrical license thus turns into a legal lexical variant, possibly supported by force of the cadence.

parivarido nāso (B16c) scans ~|-~--~॥ B16c with a long second syllable, Skt *parīvārito nāthah*. This as well can be regarded as a lexical variant since *pari-* in Skt often allows a variant *parī-*. With root *vṛ* the lexica note *parivarta* vs. *parīvarta*, and *parivṛta* and *parīvṛta*, the latter predominantly found in the Vedic language, which left a number of traces in Gāndhārī.

Contraction

Inconsistency is found around a term which expresses “in the ten regions”, the lemma known as *diśādaśa* in the Garuḍapurāṇa 1.89,61, or as *diśodāśa* in the Mahāśahasrapramadaṇī. In the locative pl. when -*su* is added, it is written *diśādaśu* in the cadence of B1b, *diśādaśu* in A9c, and in B12b it is written *diśādaśasu*, scanning ~---, showing that the second syllable is long. The *sa* looks like crossed out, which would produce an identical spelling *diśādaśu* in both cases, or the crossing could be an -*i*-stroke, by which we had *diśādaśisu*, that is five syllables, where, because of the cadence, *dasi* must be taken as one long syllable starting the cadence.

Samprasāraṇa of *aya* to *e* is found in *avañeṣdi* ~---॥ A7b ← *apanayanti*; *eti* ~ ← *ayanti* A2d, but not applied in *avaloyayamāṇo* ~---~--- ← *avalokayamāṇah* B20b.

Phonetics

Sound changes

On the whole this text follows the conventions of literary Gāndhārī, and so trivial rules need no repetition here. Dental *na* and *ṇa* are always written as a hooked *na*, with one exception in the name of *kacayana* (Skt *kātyāyana*; B15b, 7th letter from right) where we find an S-like curved letter (Fig. 1,g), which was either written to express a particular sound or was left unconverted from a different text that still distinguished between hooked *na* and curved *na*.

Initial consonants are mostly preserved, initial clusters including -*r* or -*v* (*kr*, *pr*, *dr*, *śr*; *kv*, *tv*, *sv*) are maintained as well. Clusters involving -*y* are treated differently, as the *y* turns the following vowel into *i*, while the quality of the changed vowel defines the quality of the *i*. The cases are *ñiśa* ~ (A34b=A37b), if correctly derived from *nyakṣa*, and *bila* ~ (A19b) if correctly based on Skt. *vyāla*.

Word-internal consonants are usually lenated, *t* to *d*, *d* to *δ*, *k* to *g*, *g* to *g* (γ), *p* to *v*. A series of successive lenations can lead to hiatus, as in *praḍibhai* (B26c) from *pratibhāti*.

A hiatus can be filled by *h*, as in *śahia* (A1b, 2b), from **śakia* from *śākya*, or by *y*, as in *avaloyayamāṇa* (B20b) from **avaloyayamāṇa* from *avalokayamāṇa*, or by *v*, as in *logivañāne* (A17b) from **logiyañāne* from *laukikajñāna* or in *śarisuva* (B14d) from

¹² All editions of CKI 242 read -*muṇisa*, but the letter is unambiguous and our reading was confirmed by a personal inspection at the Metropolitan Museum. For a depiction cf. Fussman 1980, pl. I,a, 4th line from top, center.

*śarisua from śārisuta.

Once a hiatus arises from an eliminated velar which is initial in the second member of a compound it is in our text as elsewhere often not filled. Our example is sihaadae (B13c) from simhagatya, parallel to ekaiido besides ekakūta (ekakūta, “single peaked”; Senavarma 3a) or śariraiūti from śarīrakundī (“relics container”, Falk 2017: 59b).

Some rare or singular changes involve intervocalic sibilants:

- °ś° ← ks : ruśa -~ ← rūkṣāḥ B8d; daśino -~- ← dakṣine B14d; cf. ad(r)asī -~~ B18b (adrākṣīt).
- °ś° ← ks : niśa ~~~← nyakṣa A34b=A37b
- °ś° ← hy : aviruśa ~~~← abhiruhya (B12d)
- °ś° ← śr : durasava -~~~← dūraśravam B18d, where ś would be standard.
- °ś° ← ś : aśu -~ ← āśu A32d.

Morphology

Nominal Inflection

-a-stems m.

- Nom.sg.m.* -a ~ : kuliṇa -~|| ← kulīnah A1b; puraṇa -~~ ← pūraṇah A28b.
 -o ~ : purano -~~ ← pūraṇah A23b, B29b, 30c; jīno ~ ~ ← jīnah B21b.
 -o - : vimalo ~|- ← vimalah B15d; nayo |- ← nayah B28b.
 -e ~ : yakṣe ~ ~ ← yakṣah B30b; koṣalaraye -~~~|| ← koṣalarājah B20c.
 -e ~ : uduraye -~~~ ← udurājah B17d.
- Acc.sg.m.* -a ~ : vitarka -~~ ← vitarkam A7b.
 -e ~ : dharme |-~ ← dharmam A16d.
 -o ~ : śado -~ ← śabdam B1d.
 -o - ~ : jeḍavano -~~~ m.c. ← jetavanam B10d; samato ~~|| ← samantam A38d, B9c, B11b, B12b; kalaho ~~- ← kalaham B27c; ghoro ~|| ← ghoram B27c
- Inst.sg.m.* -ena -~|| : śramaṇeṇa -~~~|| A19c.
- Dat.sg.* -ae ~~|| : kṣayae ~~|| ← kṣayāya A8b; gamaṇae ~~|| ← gamanāya B2c.
- Abl.sg.m/n.* -da ~ or - : vhabagaḍa ~~-| ← bhavāgratas A9b; samataḍa -~~~ B5d
 ← samantatas.
 -do ~ : vamado -~~ ← vāmatas B14b.
 -spa ~|| : jīnaspa ~~|| ← jīna-*smāt A10c.
 -a - : bala ~|| ← balāt B3b; pañca --|| paścāt B18c.
- Gen.sg.m.* -sa ~ or ~|| : sugaḍasa ~~-| ~ ← sugatasya A22d; jīnasa ~~|| jīnasya A32c, B6c, B11c, B14b.
 -sa ~|| : jīnasa ~~|| jīnasya A11c.
- Loc.sg. m/n.* -e - : jeḍavane -~~~ ← jetavane A22d; -vane ~ ~ ← vane B27b.
 -e ~ : logivañane -~~~| ~ ← laukikajñāne A17b.
 -a - : jeḍavañadiṣa -~~~| ~ ← jetavanadiṣe B4d; maṭhatala va -~~~ ~||
 ← mr̥ṣṭatale eva B7c (clerical mistake ?).
 -o - : daśino -~ ~ ← dakṣine B14d (clerical mistake ?)
 -ae ~~ : satamae ~~~| ~ ← saptame A33c
 -mi /m̥mi/ ~|| : jedavañami -~~~ ~|| ← jetavana-*smin A33d; divaṣami ~~~ ~||
 ← divasa-*smin A36c; nāgarami ~~~ ~|| ← nāgara-*smin B2b.
 -smi ~|| : divaṣasmi ~~~ ~|| ← divasa-*smin A33c = A34c.

- Nom.pl.m.* -a - : tīrthigaṇa -~~~| ~ ← tīrthyaganāḥ A34b, 37b.
 -o - : samayo ~~-| ~ ← samājāḥ B2c.
 -e - : *niśaloğe ~~~ ~|| ← nyakṣalokāḥ A34b, 37b.

Acc.pl.m. -**a** - : *irdhivišeṣa* -~--~|| ← *rddhivišeṣān* A20c = 29c; *samgha* --|| ← *samghān* B10b;
 -*nariṇara* |-~--|| ← *nāriṇarān* B10c; *gotra* --|| ← *gotrān* B15c; *satvaviciḍrakileśa*
 -~--|-~--|| ← *satvavicitrakleśān* A6b.
 -**o** - : *irdhivišeṣo* -~--~|| ← *rddhivišeṣān* A24c.

Acc.pl.nt. -**ani** : *irdhibalāni* -~--~|| ← *rddhibalāni* B22b.

Inst.pl. -**ehi** -~ or -~|| : *irdhibalehi* -~--~|| ← *rddhibalaiḥ* A20b.

-**eii** -~|| : *irdhibalei* -~--~|| ← *rddhibalaiḥ* A19d (clerical mistake ?)

-**ihi** -~ : *arihi* -~|| ← *āryaiḥ* A5b.

-**e** - : *vahē* -~|| ← *vahaiḥ* A15b; -*supuch**e -~|| ← *supucchaiḥ* A15b.

Gen.pl.m. -**ana** -~ : *tirthigāṇaṇa* -~--~|| A36b ← *tīrthyagāṇānām*.

Gen.pl.n. -**ano** --|| : *irdhibalāno* -~--~|| ← *rddhibalānām* B34b.

Loc.pl. -**esu** : *divapureṣu* -~--~|| ← *divyapureṣu* B1c.

-**uṣu** : *puruṣu* ~|~|| ← *pureṣu* B11b.

-ā-stems f.

Nom.sg.f. -**a** - : *vigurva* -~-|| ← *vikurvā* B26d.

Acc.sg.f. -**a** - : *vayaṇa* -~|| ← *vacanām* A27c; *vigurvaṇa* -~|| ← *vikurvanām* B11c.

Inst.sg. -**ae** -~ : **maṣurae* -~|~|| ← *madhurayā* A3d; *janādāe* -~--~|| ← *janatayā* B9b, 11d.

Nom.pl.f. -**a** - : *praya* ~|-|| ← *prajāḥ* A7c; *vigurva* -~-|| ← *vikurvāḥ* B2d.

-i-stems m.

Nom.sg.m. -**i** ~ : *śakamuṇi* ~|~|| ← *śākyamunih* A14c (m.c., or from *śākyamaṇin*).

Nom.sg.m. -**e** ~ : [e]gaḍamate -~--~|| ← *ekāntamatih* A27b.

Instr.sg.m. -**īna** -~ : *śakamuṇīṇa* -~--~|| ← *śākyamuninā* A20d, 24d, 29d.

Instr.sg.m. -**ie** -~ : (su)skāṇḍha-aṅghriṇā -~|~|| ← *suskandha-aṅghriṇā* B13b.

Gen.sg.m. -**isa** -~ : *śakamuṇisa* -~--~|| ← *śākyamuneh* A10d.

-i-stems fem.

Nom.sg.f. -**i** ~ : **kirti* -~|| ← *kīrtih* A9c.

Acc.sg.f. -**o** ~ : *bodho* -~|| ← *bodhim* A32c (clerical mistake).

Instr.sg.f. -**ae** -~ : *sihaādāe* -~--~|| ← *śimhagatyā* B13c.

-ī-stem fem.

Loc.sg.f. -**ie** -~ : *veṣā*[lie] -~--~|| ← *vaiśālīyām* A15c.

-u-stems, incl. svayambhū

Stem -**u** ~ : *maru-samgha* -~--~|| ← *marusaṁghāḥ* B1d.

Nom.sg.m. -**u** ~ : *svayabhu* -~--~|| ← *svayambhūḥ* B13b, 28c; *añalogadhadu* -~--~||
 ← *anyalokadhātum* B35c.

-**o** ~ : *madaśatru* -~--~|| ← *madaśatruḥ* B19d.

Acc.sg.m. -**u** ~ : *svayabhu* -~--~|| ← *svayambhuvām* B18b; *paśu* -~|| ← *prāśūm* A2d.

Instr.sg.m. -**uṇa** -~ : *bahuṇa* ~|-|| ← *bahuṇā* B26b.

Voc.sg.m. -**u** ~ : *svayabhu* -~--~|| ← *svayambhu* B34c.

Nom.pl.m. -**u** - : *maru* -~|| ← *maravāḥ* B6d; *bahu* -~|| ← *bahavāḥ* B1d, 5c.

-an-stems. m.

Nom.sg.m. -**a** ~ : *mahatma* -~|| ← *mahātmā* A1b = 2b.

-**o** ~ : *rayo* -~|| ← *rājā* A35d.

-**o** -~ : *mahatvo* -~--~|| ← *mahātmā* B14c.

-**o** - : *bramo* -~|| ← *brahmā* B16d.

Gen.sg.m. -**āṇa** ॒॒॑ : *atmāṇa* ॒॒॑॑ ← *ātmanah* A2d.
 -**īṇo** ॒॒॑ : *rayīṇo* ॒॒॑॑ ← *rājñah* A23d, 28d.
 Loc.sg.m. -**ī** ॒॑॑ : *koṣalāraṇī* ॒॑॑॑॑॑॑ ← *koṣalarājñī* A27c.

Nom.pl.m. -**a** ≈ : *mahatma* ∵≈|| ← *mahātmānah* B16b.

-in-stems, m.

Nom.sg.m.	-i ~ : <i>gani</i> ~ ~ ← <i>gañī</i> A34d, 37d, B26b;
	-i ~ : <i>śukramanatvi</i> ~ ~ ~ ~ ← <i>śukramanasvī</i> A17c.
	-i - : <i>suyi</i> ~ ~ ← <i>śucī</i> B19d.
	-e ~ : <i>tvariδagrahe</i> ~ ~ ~ ~ ← <i>tvaritagrāhī</i> A17c.
Acc.sg.m.	-i ~ : <i>gani</i> ~ ~ ← <i>gañinam</i> A13b.
	-i ~ : <i>ñani</i> ~ ~ ~ ~ ← <i>jñāninam</i> A18d.
	-e ~ : <i>ñane</i> ~ ~ ~ ~ ← <i>jñāninam</i> A16c.
Gen.pl.m.	-īna ~ : <i>ganīna</i> ~ ~ ~ ~ ← <i>gañīnām</i> B34d.

Participles in *ant*

Nom.sg.m. -**a** - : *raha* ~- ← *arhā* remains metrically long (A10d): B7b.
 -**a** ≈ : *lakṣaṇavidva* ~~~~≈|| ← *lakṣaṇavidvā* A18b.

Nom.pl.m. -**ta** ~ : *arahata* ~~~~ ← *arhantah* B16b.

-as-stems

Nom.sg.nt. -**a** - : *yaśa* -- ← *yaśah* A21d, 25 d (*yaśa*), 30d.
 Nom.sg.m. -**a** - : *anantayaśa* - - - - ← *anantayaśā* A9d (*bahuvrīhi* compound ending in -*yaśā*);
 yaśo -- ← *yaśāḥ* B15d.
 Acc.sg.nt. -**o** ≈ : *bhuyo* -- ← *bhūyah* A26b, 31b.
 Acc.sg.m. -**a** ~ : *durasava* - - - - ← *dūraśravasam* B18d.

-tr-stems, m.

Nom.sg.m. -ta $\asymp \|=$: *sasta* - $\asymp \| \leftarrow \tilde{s}astā$ B19c.
 -to \sim : *sasto* - $\sim \leftarrow \tilde{s}astā$ B20b.
 -a \asymp : *supradhata* $\sim \sim \asymp \| \leftarrow supradharta$ A17d.
Instr.pl.f. -trihi $\sim \asymp$: *matrihi* - $\sim \leftarrow mātrbhih$ A7c.

Old consonant and root stems

Inst.sg.f. -a- : *masuragira* ~~~~~ ← *madhuragirā* B19c; *gira* ~|← *girā* A23d, 28d.
 Loc.sg.f. -e~ : *parisae* ~~~~ ← *parisadi* B27d.

There are a few *-i*-stems derived from Skt *-in*-stems, built both from root and primary noun, which have lost all traces of the original nasal ending, and have taken up the endings of true Skt *-i*-stems. The cases are *gani* ← *gaṇin*, *ñani* ← *jñānin*, *gaṇin* : *gaṇi* / *gaṇim* or *ganiḥ* ~ A13b (unclear whether nom. or acc.).

Pronouns, demonstrative and relative

1. person

Gen.sg. *mi* ~ \leftarrow *me/mama* A38d; *mae* ~ ~ \leftarrow *me/mama* B18c.

2. person

Nom.pl.m. *tusve* ← *vīyam* B21b (cf. Edgerton 1953.I: 111b).

3. person

Nom.sg.m. *so* - = B20c; *sa* ~ A9d, B26b
 yo - = B14c

- Nom.sg.nt. *ki* - ← *kim* B26d.
sarva -~ ← *sarvam* B34d.
- Acc.sg.m. *ta/tam* : whenever written *tam* it scans heavy (B6d, B7c); when written *ta* it can make position (-) or not (~).
ne - ← *nam* A32d.
sarve -~|| ← *sarvam* B20d
- Acc.sg.nt. *edo* -~ ← *etat* A23d, 28d.
- Instr.sg.m. *yēna* -~ = A16d, B5d, 28b.
- Gen.sg.m.n. *tasa* -~ ← *tasya* B14b.
- Abl.sg.m./n. *taspa* -- A31b -~ A9d, A10d, A26b ← *tasmāt*.
- Nom.pl.m. *te* - = A12c, B10b.
ye - = A34b, 37b.
ime -~ = A18c.
sarve -~|| ← *sarve* A13b.
- Nom.pl.f. *ta* - ← *tāh* B2d.
- Acc.pl.m. *tam* - ← *tān* B7c.
- Gen.pl.m.n. *teṣa* -- A35b, A36b, A39c.
yeṣa -~ B28b ← *yeṣām*.
- Instr.pl.m/n *tehi* -~|| ← *tebhīḥ*, *taiḥ* B17c.
yehi -~ ← *yebhīḥ/yaiḥ* A15b, B12d, 16c.
sarve -~|| ← *sarvaiḥ* A34d, 37d.

Verbal morphology

Narrative Present

- 3rd sg. *avaneḍi* -~ ~|| ← *nī*: *apanayanti* A7b; *uveti* -~ ~|| ← *i*: *upaiti* A1c; *upeti* -~ ~|| ← *√i*: *upaiti* A3b; *uvaśobhadi* -~ -~ ~|| ← *√śubh*: *upaśobhati* B17c; *eti* -~ ← *√i*: *ayanti* A2d; *kṣubhadi* -~ ~|| ← *√kṣubh*: *kṣubhyati* B11d; *janāḍi* -~ ~|| ← *√jñā*: *jānāti* A6b; *niśiḍaḍi* -~ ~|| ← *√sad*: *niśidati* B13d; *neti* -~ *√nī*: *nayati* A32d; *praḍibhai* -~ ~|| ← *√bhā*: *pratibhāti* B26c; *bhanadi* -~ ~|| ← *√bhāṇ*: *bhaṇātāti* A5c; *yaḍi* -~ ← *√yā*: *yātī* A16c; *śobhadi* -~ ~|| ← *√śubh*: *śobhati* B7d, B16d.
- 1st pl. *ichama* -~ ~|| ← *√iṣ*: *icchāmah* A19c
- 3rd pl. *upeti* -~ ~|| ← *√i*: *upayanti* B12d; *kasayati* -~ ~|| ← *√kath*: *kathayanti* A23d, A28d; *praṇamati* -~ ~|| ← *√nam*: *pranamanti* A16b.

Present imperativ

- 2nd sg. *tiṭhahi* -~ ~ B34c, *√sthā*: ← BHS *tiṣṭhāhi*, Skt. *tiṣṭha*; *dehi* -~ ← *√dā*: *dehi* A26c, A31c; *ghosahi* -~ ~ A38d ← *ghoṣay*; P *ghosehi*, Skt. *ghoṣaya*
- 3rd sg. *bhodu* -~ ← *√bhū*: *bhavatu* A33d, A34d, A36d, A37d; *bhohi* -~ ← P. *hohi*, BHS *bhohi*, Skt. *√bhū*: *bhava* B19d.
- 1st pl. *karomasa* -~ ~ ~|| ← P. *karomase* (Geiger 1916: 108), Skt. *√kr*: *karavāma* A20d, A24d, A29d.
- 3rd pl. *bhaṇadi* -~ ~|| ← *bhaṇantu* A27d.

Present causative

- 3rd sg. *kṣivayami* -~ ~ ~|| ← *√kṣi*: *kṣepayāmi* B35c; **samudroyae* -~ -~ ~|| ← *√dru*: *samuddrāvayate* B20d (cf. com.).

Passive

- 3rd sg. *chayae* -~ ~ ~|| ← *√chad*: *chādyate* B5d, obviously representing Skt. pass. 3.sg. *chādyate*, which via *chājate/chajjate* becomes *chāyati*. For the dropped *t* cf. § on *Narrative present* above. The metrics show that the (*t*)e must be counted short,

resulting most likely from the standard G. passive 3.sg. in *-ti*; possibly *d-śaḍi* ~~~ ← √*dṛś*: P. *dissati*, Skt. *dṛsyate* A8b, if not from *diśati* “he shows”. The strange and most likely miscorrected *samu(dro→ya)δae* B20d was inspired by the idea of a corrector that a passive construction form was required, comparable to Skt *samuddrāvyate* (cf. above Present causative).

Passive causative

3rd sg. *caradi* ~~~ m.c. ← √*car*: *cāryate* B2b.

Passiv imperative

3rd sg. *hamñata* ~~~ ← √*han*: *hanyatām* A7c.

Future

2nd pl. *trekṣasa* ~~~ ← √*dṛś*: *drakṣyatha* A39d (cf. Allon 2009: 16a); *drekṣasa* ~~~ ← √*dṛś*: *drakṣyatha* B2d.

Preterite

3rd sg. *avoyi* ~-≈|| ← P. *avaca / avoca*, Skt. √*vac*: **avocīt* A27b; *ačavado* - -~~~ ← *ati+ā* √*vad*; P. *accāvada(ti)* Skt. *atyavadat* B21b; *ačavaδa* - -~~~ ← *ati+ā* √*vad*: P. *accāvada(ti)*, Skt. *atyāvadat* B28c. *aíha* ~≈|| ← P. *aṭhā*, Skt. √*sthā*: *asthāt* B26b; *ad(r)aśi* ~~~ ← P. *addasi*, Skt. √*dṛś*: *adrākṣīt* B18b; *abravi* ~~~ ← P. *abravi*, Skt. √*bru*: *abratīt* B19c; *ahu* ~ - ← P. *ahū*, Skt. √*bhū*: *abhūt* B23b; *hu* - ← *abhūt* B31c; *ahuśi* ~-≈|| ← P. *ahosi*, Skt. √*bhū*: *abhūt* A9d; ~~~ A15d; *uvagami* ~ -~~~ ← P. *upāgami*, Skt. √*gam*: *upāgamīt* A35d; *uvasakrami* ~ ~~~ ← P. *upakrami*, Skt. √*kram*: *upasam̄kramīt* B10d.

3rd pl. *ahusu* ~-≈|| ← √*bhū* P. *ahū*, Skt. **abhāviṣuh* A12b; *karisu* ~~~ ← √*kr*: P. *karim̄su*, Skt. *akārṣuh* A10c; ~-≈|| B27d; *pragirisu* ~-≈|| ← √*kir*: P. *pakirim̄su*, Skt. *prākīrṣuh* B6d; *viasu* ~~~ ← *vi* √*gam*: P. *vigam̄su*; Skt. **vyagāṁṣuh* A32d; *sunisū* ~-~ ← √*śru*: *sunim̄su*; BHS *śrunim̄su*, Skt. *aśrauṣuh* B1d; *upagama* ~-≈|| ← upa √*gam*: P. *upāgamū*, Skt. *upāgaman* A23c.

Perfect

3rd.sg. *yayaro* ~-≈|| ← *cacāra* B30b.

Optative

3rd. sg. *bhavea* ~~~ A26d, A31d ← P. *bhaveyya*, Skt. √*bhū*: *bhaveta*; *vinea* ~-≈|| A16d ← P. *vineyya*, Skt. √*nī*: *vinayet*. *asa* ~ ~ ← *syāt*, P. *assa* B18c (cf. *asa*, Silverlock 2015: 355). *padiyadae* ~~~~ B8c ← Skt. *pratiyātayet*.

3rd.pl. *svo* ~ ← *syuḥ* B8d.

Participles present

Simplex Active:

There is only one case and it can be debated:

aya a + abl. ← *ayann ā bhavāgratas*, “going upto”, A9b.

Causative:

avaloyayamāṇa ~ ~ -~~-≈|| ← *ava* √*lok*: *avalokayamāṇah* B20b; *śohayamāṇam* ~~~-≈|| ← √*śubh*: *śobhayamāṇah* B9d.

Causative passive:

uaśaharamāṇa ~ ~ -~~~ ← *upa-sam* √*har*: *upasam̄hāryamāṇam* A11c.

Desiderative:

drekṣado ~~~ ← *didṛkṣantah* A1d.

Participles preterite

(*yasa-*)***anuśiṭha*** (--)~ - ~ ← *anu* √śās: *yathānuśiṣṭam* A27d; ***utrasta*** ~ ~ ← *ut* √tras: *uttrastah* B31c; ***upano*** ~-~|| ← *ut* √pad: *utpannah* A14c, A15d; ***vedo*** ~-~|| ← *upa* √i: *upetah* A5b; ***kuvīda*** ~ - ~ ← √kup: *kupitān* A22b; ***kriḍa*** / ***krido*** ~ ~ ← √kr̥: *kṛtam* A26b, A31b; (*su-*)***gaḍasa*** (~)~~|| ← √gam: *sugatasya* A9b, ~ ~ ~ A22d; (*bila-*)***gaḍe*** (~)~ - ~ ← √gam: *vyāla-gatah* A19b; ***chiṇo*** ~-~|| ← √chid: *chinnah* B27b; ***jami***(*ta-deva-nari-nara) ~ ~ ~(-~ ~ ~ ~) ← √yam: *yamita-deva-nāri-narān* B10c; ***niṣhiḍa*** ~ ~ ~ ← *ni* √sthā: *niṣṭhitam* A18d; ***nivatiḍa*** / ***nivatida*** ~ ~ ~ ← *ni* √vṛt: *nivartitāh* A21c, A25c, A30c; ***niṣāṇo*** ~ ~ ~ ← *ni* √sad: *niṣāṇnah* B14b, B18b; ***paḍiḍo*** ~-~|| ← *pra* √dīp: *pradīptaḥ* B19b; ***parayida*** ~ ~ ~ ← *para-ā* √jī: *parājitāh* B3b; ***parita***(-janō) ~ ~ ~ ~ ← *pari* √dā: *parītta-janāḥ* B30c; ***praṇiḍa*** ~-~|| ← *pra* √nī: *praṇītam* A11b; ***praḍigrahiḍa*** / ***praḍigrahida*** ~ ~ ~ ~ ← *prati* √grah: *pratigrahītāḥ* A34d, A37d; ***prabhagiḍo*** ~ ~ ~ ← *pra* √bhaj: *prabhāgītāḥ* B27b; ***prahuḍa*** ~-~|| ← *pra* √bhū: *prabhūtāḥ* B5c; ***bhido*** ~-~|| ← √bhī: *bhītāḥ* B31c; ***lavhiḍa*** ~-~|| ← √labh: *lambhitam* A11d; ***vardhavia*** ~ ~ ~ ← √vṛdh: *vardhāpitāḥ* A13c; ***vigirño*** ~-~|| ← *vi* √kī: *vikīrṇāḥ* B7d; ***viṇiḍa*** ~-~|| ← *vi* √nī: *vinītāḥ* B7b; ***viḍernā*** ~-~|| ← *vi* √dī: *vidīrṇāḥ* A6c; ***śata*** ~ ~ ← √śap: *śāptam* B34d; ***suhiḍo*** ~ ~ ~ ← √sukh: *sukhitāḥ* B1b.

Causative

ghaṇiḍa ~-~|| ← √ghṛṇ: *gharṇitam* B17b; ***parivarido*** ~ ~ ~ ~ ← *pari* √vr̥: *parivāritāḥ* B16c; ***sampariarido*** ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ← *sam-pari* √vr̥: *samparivāritāḥ* B9d.

Infinitive

-do *vidarśido* ~ ~ ~ ← *vidarśitum* B22b; unclear.

Absolutives I, Skt in *-tvā*

The simple absolutive is made from a number of roots, and the final syllable is always metrically short, e.g. ***kritvā*** ~ (kr̥) A13b, ***gatvā*** ~ (gam) B13d; ***ñatvā*** ~ (jñā) B18d; ***ṭhahitvā*** ~ ~ (sthā) A27b, B35b; ***netvā*** ~ (nī) A10b; ***driṭhvā*** ~-~ (dr̥ś) A22b; ***ladhvā*** ~ (labh) A32c; ***vaditvā*** ~ ~ (vand) A35c; ***śrutvā*** ~ (śru) B11c.

In Pali the corresponding ending is spelled *-tvā*. Metrically short forms occur, but are rare (Warder 1967: 77 § 104, Alsdorf 269f., 284, 305, 325f.). In other Gāndhārī texts written (°t-)va can scan long or short, “as required by the metre”, e.g. in the Arapacāṇa poem from the Bajaur Collection published by Melzer (2017: 26). There, two-syllabic absolutives more often produce stronger scans than longer forms. Our texts looks final in a series beginning with Pali and passing through the Arapacāṇa poem, but this sequence should not be used for chronological ordering.

Absolutives II, Skt in *-ya*

These forms usually require a preverb, a rule always followed in our text. This *-ya* is mostly shortened to *-i* (~), on which cf. Edgerton (1953,I: 176b, §35.50). Our forms are ***praṇavi*** ~ ~ (jñā) B4c (cf. *praviśi* Dhp-G^K 251b); ***aṇavi*** ~ ~ (ājñā) A38b. What looks like an ending in *-a* in ***aviruṣṭa*** ~ ~ ~ (*abhiruh*) B12d can be compared to a similar change from *hy* → *ś* in *daśamāṇa* ← *dahyamāṇa* (Dhp-G^S 3,9; Salomon 1999: 28, n.13).

The text

A1: A congregation of kings visits the Buddha:

+ + + + + + + .. °	
śahia-putra mahatma kuliṇa °	śākyaputraḥ mahātmā kulīnah	-○○○○ -○○○
bahuparthiva-saṃgha uveti [°]	bahupārthiva-saṃghaḥ upaiti	○○○○ -○○○
dreksado ta dupadutamo ḡaso	didṛkṣantaḥ tam dvipadottamam nātham	---○○○ -○○○

a:

b: Śākyaputra, the Honorable, the noble.

c: The congregation of many kings approaches,

d: desirous to see him, the best of humans, the protector.

b) On hiat-bridging -h- cf. intro. p. xxx

A2: Arrival of illustrious spectators:

+ + + + + + + + (*°)	
śahia-p[*u][tra] mahatma kuliṇa °	śākyaputraḥ mahātmā kulīnah	-○○○○ -○○○
haya-kujara-citrarasehi °	haya-kuñjara-citra-rathaiḥ	○○○○ -○○○
eti joṇa paśu atmaṇa viro	ayanti *jinam prāśu ātmanah vīram	---○○○ -○○○

a: ...

b: The Śākyaputra, the Honorable, the noble.

c: (The kings surrounded) by horses, elephants and decorated chariots

d: move quickly towards the Jina, who is a hero by nature.

d: For *joṇa* we propose to read *jīna* as a copyist's mistake. The ś in *paśu* looks like a y.

A3: The Buddha speaks in the assembly:

+ + + + + + +	
[n̄. mi y. s. pariṣae upeti] °	.... yathā pariṣadi upeti	≈≈○○○ -○○○
[t]e[s̄.] .. [s̄. ya ti ṇa ra t]i [e] _	teṣu . . ?yatnām . .	
[me s̄. k. s̄. m. s̄. r. e gira] ..	.... madhurayā girāyā	. . . ○ -○○○

a: ...

b: Like . . . he entered the assembly

c: ...

d: . . . (spoke) with a sweet voice.

The lower part of the line is gone and a reconstruction tentative. For *pāda* d) cf. B19.

A4: Some decoration:

+ + + + + + +	
+ + .. r[s̄. ṇ]o [śuho] varṇ[o] °	..... śubhah varṇah	
[p(h)ala pu]ṣpa ra .. [svadu] +	phalāḥ (*ca?) puṣpāḥ rasasvādū	○ - - ○○○
+ + + + + + + +	

a: ...

b: . . . pleasant colour,

c: fruits, flowers, sweet by their essence.

d: ...

c: Metrics unclear. Before the caesura we see only three letters, all of which would need to be long. However, nowhere else do we find three long syllables in a row. Restoring a dropped *ca* in third place would provide standard metrics and vocabulary. For the rest cf. Jātakamālā *sarvān rasān svādutayā*. In the Mvu 3.110 water is *rasasvādупетам*.

A5: The Buddha speaks in the assembly:

+ + + + + + + + + (°)	
[a]r[i]hi agavarehi uvedo °	āryaiḥ agravaraiḥ upetah	- - - - - - - - -
bhaṇadi pariṣae m[·]ṇu +	bhaṇāti pariṣadi manojñam	- - - - - - - - -
+ + + + + + + + +	

a: . . . (?The audience)

b: was furnished with the finest of noblemen.

c: He speaks in the assembly pleasantly,

d: . . .

c: For *maṇuña*, P *manuñña*, Skt *manojñam* cf. B7d.

A6: The Buddha defines standard human life:

+ + + + + + + sta °	....
jāṇađī satvavicidrakileśa [°]	jānāti satvavicitrakleśān	- - - - - - - - -
purimešu [bha]vešu viđern̄ ·	purvešu bhavešu vidīrṇān	- - - - - - - - -
+ + + + + + + + +	

a: . . .

b: he knows the various afflictions of the living beings.

c: (who are) frightened (already) in their earlier existences;

d: . . .

b: *jāṇađī* spells *jānati* as in BHS verses.

A7: The Buddha's teaching continues:

+ + + + + + + + + (°)	
kṣudra vitarka tađa avaňeđi °	kṣudram vitarkaṁ tadā apanayanti	- - - - - - - - -
ham[ñat]a p[r]aya hi matrihi °	hanyatām prajā hi mātrbhiḥ	- - - - - - - - -
+ + + + + + + + +	

a: . . .

b: A low intention [they?] then remove.

c: For offspring must be destroyed along with (their) mothers.

d: . . .

b: Cf. Udāna PTS p. 37, vs. 1: *khuddā vitakkā sukhumā vitakkā anugatā manaso ubbilāpā, ete avidvā manaso vitakke hurāhuram dhāvati bhantacitto*. “He who judges not aright these mean and subtle thoughts, Whereby the mind is puffed up and inflated, Such a one wanders in confusion from birth to birth.” (Strong 1902: 51).

c: The “low intentions” seem to be the “mothers”, producing *kleśas* as their “offspring”, resulting in renewed births, cf. Harivarman’s *Satyasiddhiśāstra* (Aiyaswami Sastri 1975: 468) *sarve hi kleśā vitarkaṁ pratītya jāyante*.

A8: Someone acclaims the sayings of the Buddha:

+ + + + + + + + +	
.. ūađī sarvav[i]ta[rkakṣayae °]	?diśati sarvavitarkakṣayāya	- - - - - - - - -
a: . . .		
b: he shows (this) for to put an end to all intentions.		

A9: Someone continues acclaiming:

+ + + + + + + + + [na] °	....
aya a vhaṇagāđa sugađasa °	ayan ā bhavāgratas sugatasya	- - - - - - - - -

diśādaśu ya [ki]rti viśala	<i>diśadaśaśu ca kīrtih viśalā</i>	~~~~~ ~~~~
taspa añata-yaśa sa ahuśi	<i>tasmāt anantayaśāḥ saḥ abhūt</i>	~~~ ~~~~

a: ...

b: going up to the best state of existence of the Sugata.

c: In all directions of the compass his renown is widely spread.

d: Therefore he acquired endless fame.

b: *aya a* is taken as a part.pres. nom. as in *ā dadhnāḥ kalaśair ayann iti*, e.g. ĀśvGS 2.8,16), where the direction of going is reverse. A finite verb like *ayāya* (Aśoka: *ayāya saṃbodhim*) meets metrical difficulties, as a repeated amphibrach would be singular.

c: *diśādaśu*: This form occurs also B1b as *diśādaśu* and in B12b as *diśādaśa*. This adverbial locative has parallels in Pali *disādasa* (Apadāna 1.3.11) and is likewise endingless in Skt *diśādaśa* (Garuḍapurāṇa 1.89,61). This defines the metrics as ~~~ for all cases.

A10: People approach the Buddha:

+ + + + + + + + .. °	
[ne]tva rase taḍa ni pariḍhahe °	<i>nītvā rathe tataḥ niśparidāhe</i>	-~~~ ~~~~
saṄkarō karisu jiṇaspa °	<i>satkāraṁ akārṣuḥ jināt</i>	~~~ -~~~
taspa yaśaraho śakamuṇisa	<i>tasmāt yathārham śākyamuneh.</i>	-~~~ ~~~~

a: ...

b: then brought near on an incombustible chariot.

c: They expressed their veneration in front of the Jina,

d: in front of him, as a Śākyamuni deserves.

b: *nipariḍhahe* by its metrics and phonetics must be Skt *niśparidāha*, but in which way a chariot can be “incombustible” remains a mystery.

c: The letter written is a classical *ka*, usually reflective of Skt. *ska*, written with a short stroke leading upwards from the crotch of an ordinary *ka*. There is a variant with a stroke leading upwards from the bend of the right arm of the *ka*, proposed by Falk (2014: 19f. fn. 15) to be transliterated by *ķa* (unicode U+01U9), reflective of Skt. *tkā*, so far attested only in *sakara*, Skt. *satkāra*. In our case yet another *sakara* would be excepted; however, the letter written is the very similarly looking *ka*, but there can be no doubt that an equivalent to Skt *satkāra* was intended.

A11: People furnish the Buddha with food:

+ + + + + + + + [°]	
bhoyaṇa ana rasagra praniḍa °	<i>bhojanam annam rasāgram pranītam</i>	-~~~ ~~~~
uaśaharamaṇa jiṇasa _	<i>upasāṃhāryamānam jinasya</i>	~~~ -~~~
[bhuyaḍara tasa piśilavhiḍa]	<i>bhūyastaram tathā pīthilambhitam.</i>	-~~~ ~~~~

a: ...

b: Dishes, most tasty food, was brought near,

c: which was collected for the Jina.

d: Still more was then donated in the bazar.

d: As all letters are truncated in their lower part the reconstruction should be regarded as tentative. *pisi* is taken as Skt. *pīthī*, *vīthī*, P *vīthī*.

A12: Reaction of the heretics:

+ + + + + + + +	
+ + [a]ñatamaṇa ya ahusu ° + +	<i>anantamānāḥ ca *abhāviṣuḥ</i>	(~)~~~ -~~~
te kroṣaba[1·] + + +	<i>te krodha-bal(āt?)</i>	~~~ -(~~~)
+ + + + + + + +	

a: . . .

b: . . . and they became boundless in their vanity.

c: On account of their anger . . .

d: . . .

A13: The heretics and the King of Kosala:

+ + + + + + + yo °	....
puraṇa kritva muho gaṇi sarve °	pūraṇam kṛtvā muhur gaṇinam sarve	- - - - - - - -
vardhavia [k]oṣa[la] .. +	vardhāpitah kosala(?rājah)	- - - - - - - -
+ + + + + + + + +	

a: . . .

b: after all have made Pūraṇa again their chief.

c: The king of Kosala, hailed (by the heretics . . .)

d: . . .

b: *muho*, Skt. *muhur*, scans ~-, in analogy to *puṇa* (A35c), Skt. *punar*.

A14: The heretics complain:

+ + + + + + + [liṇa] °	....
viñavaṇaraha ediṣa bhoti °	vijñāpanārham īdrśam bhavati	- - - - - - - -
yadā śakamuṇi upaṇo °	yadā Śākyamuniḥ utpannah	— — — — — — —
+ + + + + + + + +	

a: . . .

b: This has to be reported in the same way.

c: When the Śākyamuni made his presence,

d:

b: The Vinayasūtra offers *vijñāpanārrahah* (2.3.7) and *vijñāpanārhatvam* (2,697).

c: Cf. DivA (089.014) *yadā tu śramaṇo gautamo loke utpannah*

A15: The heretics complain about the means of transport (?):

+ + + + + + + + + °	
[y]ehi vahe iḍi s·phisupu[ch](e) °	yaiḥ vahaiḥ itaḥ susphiksupucchaiḥ	- - - - - - - -
veṣa[lie] .. [hea] .. +	vaiśālīyām . . .	— (— — — — — — — —)
+ + + + [ah]u[ṣi] u[paṇo]	. . . abhūt utpannah	. . . — — — — — — — —

a: . . .

b: by which draught animals with well-(built) buttocks and nice tail from here

c: (move to?) Veśālī . . .

d: . . .

b: Cf. Bṛhajjātaka 3,3 *medhramuṣkau sphikpuccham iti āha*. A *sphik* can be *pr̥thu*, *sthūla* or *kr̥ṣa*.

d: For the metrics of *upaṇo/utpannah* cf. Introduction on metrics.

A16: The heretics bemoan the success of the Buddha:

+ + + + + + + [ba]ro °	....
sarvamahaśramaṇe prāṇamati _	sarvamahāśramaṇe pranamanti	- - - - - - - -
ṇayañā yaḍ[i] goḍame ḡaṇe °	nayajñāḥ yāti gautamam jñāninam	— — — — — — —
yeṇa prayā svage dharme viṇea	yena prajām svakam dharmam vinayet	- - - - - - - -

a: . . .

b: They pay reverence before the greatest ascetic of them all.

c: A layman goes to Gautama, the knower,

d: so that he may lead the people to his own dharma.

A17: The heretics praise Pūraṇa:

+ + + + + + [geso/u] °	....
kovi_δa logivañane aśeṣe °	<i>kovidah laukikajñāne aśeṣe</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
tvariδagrahe śukramanañatvi °	<i>tvaritagṛāhī śukramanasvī</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-
bhumidiše paδhiδe supraδhata	<i>bhūmidiše pradhṛtaḥ supradhartaḥ</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . .

b: (you are) educated in the complete profane knowledge,

c: quick in comprehension, brilliant in thinking,

d: in (every) direction of the earth supported as upholder.

b: *logiva* probably miswritten from *logia*.

A18: Continues the praise of Pūraṇa from A17:

+ + + + + + .. no °	....
nari[ṇareṣu] .. lakṣaṇavidva °	<i>nārinareṣu</i> ~ <i>lakṣaṇavidvān</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
[ime] ya ku iṣaṇa cara[ti °]	<i>ime ca (khalu) iṣānam caranti</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-
[yasa] va[he bha]ra niṣṭhiδa ḡaṇi	<i>yathā vāhe bharam niṣṭhitam jñāninam</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . . (You are)

b: among woman and men an expert in (body) marks.

c: These (people) run, as we know, to the Īśāna,

d: to the learned, tied (to the Īśāna) like a load to a beast of conveyance.

A19: The heretics plan to have a public competition:

+ + + + + + +	
bilagaδe va siala ḡaḍati °	<i>vyālagataḥ eva śṛgālah nandati</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
ichama mahaśramañena °	<i>icchāmaḥ mahāśramañena</i>	---○ -○○○-
sadha vigurvaṇa irdhibalei	<i>sārdham vikurvanam rddhibalaiḥ</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . .

b: only when gone to the lion a jackal is happy.

c: Being together with the Mahāśramaṇa we wish

d: (to see) magic (effected) by supernormal powers.

A20: Heretics discuss the procedure of the competition:

+ + + + + + + °	
sadhe vigurvaṇa irdhibalehi °	<i>sārdham vikurvanam rddhibalaiḥ</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
uvaruari irdhivišeṣa °	<i>uparyupari rddhiviśeṣān</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-
sadha karomāṣa śakamuṇiṇā |	<i>sārdham karavāma śākyamuniṇā</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . .

b: magic (effected) by supernormal powers.

c: More and more particular magic (tricks)

d: must we then produce (by turns) with the Śākyamuni.

A21: Heretics on their future success:

+ + + + + + śi [tho] °	..... śiṣṭo	
ñanabale aṣa irdhibale va °	<i>jñānabalaiḥ atha rddhibalaiḥ vā</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
ṇivatiδa bh·majaṇi[tro] °	<i>nivartitāḥ bhaumajanendrāḥ</i>	---○ -○○○-
labho yaṣa ca pravatadu ta[sa]	<i>lābhāḥ yaśāś ca pravartatu tasya</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

- a: . . .
- b: through the powers of (our) knowledge or the powers of (our) magic.
- c: When the earthen kings have returned [to former habits]
- d: then gain and praise shall accrue to him [scil. Pūraṇa].
- c: The parallel below in A25c reads a clear *bhoma*, which we understand as part of the description of the supreme king “Lord over land and people”, rather than expecting an optative **bhoma*, Skt *bhavema*, akin to LV 7.44 (*bhomā*) and 15.101 (*bhoma*).

A22: King #1 and the enraged heretics:

+ + + + + + [jitva] .. °	....
tirthig-ṇa ku[viḍa [t]aḍa ḍriṭhva] °	tīrthyagaṇān kūpitān tatas dr̥ṣṭvā	-○○-○○ -○○--
pariāḍa [.. m.] [.. ..] jaṇidro °	paryantam . ma . janendram	○○-(○○ -)○○--
jeḍavaṇe sugaḍasa saṅgaśe °	jetavane sugatasya sakāśe	-○○-○○ -○○--

- a: . . .
- b: then, after having seen the enraged heretics.
- c: From all sides . . . the king,
- d: in the Jetavana, in the vicinity of the Sugata.
- b: for *dr̥iṭhva* cf. Melzer 2017: 26.

A23: The heretics approach King #1 (Bimbisāra?):

+ + + + + + + + +	
puraṇo kaśavo makhaliputro °	pūraṇah kāśyapah maukhariputraḥ	-○○-○○ -○○--
bahuṇagaśāda upagama °	bahuṇāgaśatāḥ upāgaman	○○-○○ -○○--
rayiṇo edo gira kasayati	rājñāḥ etad girā kathayanti.	-○○-○○ -○○--

- a: . . .
- b: Pūraṇa the Kāśyapa, the Maukariputra,
- c: arrived with many hundreds of naked ascetics,
- d: relating as follows orally to the king.
- b: Difficult to say whether the fold of the bark allows to substitute an -o-stroke for **mokhaliputro* here. The -o- is clear in the other cases of A28b and B25b.
- d: The *pāda* reoccurs below as A28d, reading the present *kasati*.

A24: The heretics repeat (from A20) their plan (to the King #1):

+ + + + + + + + °	
sadha vigurvaṇa irdhibalehi _	sārdham vikurvanām ṛddhibalaiḥ	-○○-○○ -○○--
uvaruaro irdhivišeṣo °	uparyupari ṛddhivišeṣān	○○-○○ -○○--
sadha karoma[sa] śakamuṇiṇā	sārdham karavāma śākyamuniṇā	-○○-○○ -○○--

- a: . . .
- b: magic (effected) by supernormal powers.
- c: More and more particular magic (tricks)
- d: must we then produce (by turns) with the Śākyamuni.

A25: Heretics repeat (from A21) to King #1 about their future success:

+ + + + + + + + ·o _	....
ñāṇabale _ a[sa] _ irdhibale va °	jñāṇabalaiḥ atha ṛddhibalaiḥ vā	-○○-○○ -○○--
ṇivatiḍa bhomajanid[r]a _	nivartitāḥ bhaumajanendrāḥ	○○-○○ -○○--
[lavh- yaśa ca pravatadu tasa]	lābhāḥ yaśaś ca pravartatu tasya	-○○-○○ -○○--

a: . . .

b: with (our) powers of knowledge or (our) powers of magic.

c: When the earthen kings have returned [to former habits]

d: Then gain and praise shall accrue to him [scil. Pūraṇa].

A26: The heretics boast of their future victory to King #1:

+ + + + + + +	
taspa kriḍo_taḍa utvari bhuyo °	<i>tasmāt kṛtam tataḥ uttari bhūyah</i>	--○○○○ -○○○-
iśa dehi jinapraḍivako °	<i>iha dehi jinaprativākyam</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-
yadīśa añe bhavea nārao	<i>yādr̥śam ajñāḥ bhaveta nārakah</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . . (We? will surpass)

b: what (will be done) by him, better (and) more.

c: Give here the answer of a victor,

d: so that the nitwit may go to hell.

b: In all other cases *taspa* scans ~. We prefer to expect an exception -- rather than taking *taḍa* for Skt *tadā*. – On the labialization found in *utvari* cf. Brough 1962: 83; different von Hinüber 2003: 36.

c: *jina* must scan ~-, probably with a compound in mind /*jinaprativākyam*/.

A27: King #1 directs the heretics to use the King of Kosala as a messenger:

+ + + + + + + + _	
[e]gaḍamate ḫahitva avoyi °	<i>ekāntamatih sthitvā avocī</i>	--○○○○ -○○○-
vayaṇa khalu koṣala-rañi °	<i>vacanām khalu kosala-rājñi</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-
tadra yasaṇuśiṭha bhaṇadi _	<i>tatra yathā-anuśiṣṭam bhaṇantu</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . . (King #1)

b: took the position of (only) one side (i.e. the Buddha) and said:

c: May they (go) to the Kosala king (and)

d: tell there the story as ordered (by me)."

c: When *khalu* scans short ~~, as is to be expected, then the three preceding syllables can only scan ~-- or ~-. In the first case an otherwise unattested *vacanā* f. needed to be assumed, for the second possibility we have no proposal. – *kosalarāja* is here treated as an -an-stem.

For the situation cf. DivA 90.25 - 91.1.

A28: The heretics instruct King #2 themselves by repeating verse A23:

+ + + + + + + _	
puraṇa kaśavo mokhaliputro _	<i>pūranah kāśyapah maukhariputraḥ</i>	-○○○○ -○○○-
bahuṇagaśa[tra ua]gama _	<i>bahunāgaśatāḥ upāgaman</i>	○○○○○ -○○○-
rayiṇ· edo gira kasa<ya>ti _	<i>rājñāḥ etad girā kathayanti.</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: . . .

b: Pūraṇa, Kāśyapa, the Maukariputra.

c: arrived with many hundreds of naked ascetics,

d: relating as follows orally to the king.

d: The *pāda* occurs first above above as A23d, reading the present as *kasayati*, whereas here a first *kasati* was corrected below the *sa* by the addition of a tiny *ya*.

A29: The heretics repeat A24 to King #2:

+ + + + + + +	
... [vigurvana irdhibalehi °]	<i>sārdham vikurvanam ṛddhibalaiḥ</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

[uaruvari irdhiviśeṣa] _	<i>uparyupari ṛddhiviśeṣāḥ</i>	.....
[sadha karomaṣa śa]kamuṇiṇa	<i>sārdham karavāma śākyamuniṇā</i>	.....

a: . . .

b: . . . magic (effected) by supernormal powers.

c: More and more particular magic (tricks)

d: must we then produce (by turns) with the Śākyamuni.

A30: The heretics repeat A25 to King #2:

+ + + + + + + śīṭho _	.....	śīṭah	.....
ñāṇabale asa irdhibale va °	<i>jñānabalaiḥ atha ṛddhibalaiḥ vā</i>	.....	.....
ṇivatida bhomajaṇidra °	<i>nivartitāḥ bhaumajanendrāḥ</i>	.....	.....
lovha yaśa ca ṇivatad[u] ta[sa]	<i>lābhah yaśas ca nivartatu tasya</i>	.....	.....

a: . . .

b: through our powers of knowledge or our powers of magic.

c: When the earthen kings have returned [to former habits]

d: then gain and praise shall return to him [scil. Pūraṇa].

d: The scribe first wrote *pravatadu, as in A21d=25d), then he overwrote *pra* with a bold *ni*.

A31: The heretics repeat A26 to king #2:

+ + + + + + .. °
taspa krido tada utvari bhuyo	<i>tasmāt kṛtam tataḥ uttari bhūyas</i>	.....	.....
iṣa dihi jinapradivako _	<i>iha dehi jinaprativākyam</i>	.....	.....
yadiśo aññe bhavea ṇ· +	<i>yādr̥śam ajñāḥ bhaveta nārakaḥ</i>	.....	.....

a: . . . (We? will surpass)

b: what (will be done) by him, better (and) more.

c: Give here the answer of a victor,

d: so that the nitwit may go to hell.

A32: Focus turns on Buddha and his qualities:

+ + + + + + + śi °	....	....	....
[budh·] v[·] śi va ṣa ca [ṇaṣo °]	<i>buddha ca nātho</i>	~(---)----	~(---)----
[ṇayaña bodho ladhva jīṣasa]	<i>nayajñāḥ bodhim labdhvā jīnasya</i>	.....	.....
[ṇeti] asu iōo apratima[sa]	<i>nayati āśu itaḥ apratimasya</i>	.....	.....

a: . . .

b: . . . Buddha . . . the helper,

c: he who knows how to live correctly, having attained the awakening of a Jina,

d: leads (his followers) quickly from here to (the *bodhi*) of one without compare.

c) *bodho* was corrected from *bidho* by erasion.

d) Cf. Uv 21.10 *āśubuddhi*.

A33: The Buddha fixes the date in seven days:

+ + + + + + jo bhi °	....	....	....
sadha vigurvaṇa tirthigānehi °	<i>sārdham vikurvanam tīrthyaganaiḥ</i>	.....	.....
idi satamae divaṣasmi _	<i>itaḥ saptame divase</i>	.....	.....
bhodu vigurvaṇa jedavaṇami |	<i>bhavatu vikurvanam jetavane</i>	.....	.....

a: . . .

b: magic with the heretics.

c: From now on on the seventh day

d: there shall be magic in the Jetavana.

A34: The Buddha predicts the downfall of the heretics:

+ + + + + + + + + _	
[ye vi ca tirthi]gaṇā ū[śalog]e [°]	ye pi ca tīrthyagaṇāḥ nyakṣalokāḥ	- - - - - - - -
[i]di sadamae divasāsmi °	itāḥ saptame divase	— — — — — —
[bho]du praδigrahiḍa gaṇi sarve	bhavatu pratigrahiṭāḥ gaṇī sarvaiḥ	- - - - - - - -

a: ...

b: and what these heretics are, (these) inferior people.

c: From now on on the seventh day

d: shall (the winner) be accepted by all as the leader.

d: *praδigrahiḍa* scans - - - | -, with a long final syllable. This is either m.c., or “all heretics will be accepted” as losers in the competition. Then *gaṇi* (~~) remains as inexplicable.

A35: The King of Kosala procedes from the Buddha to the heretics:

+ + + + + + .. _	
teṣa praḍi[grahō] tīrthigaṇāṇa °	teṣāṁ pratigrahaḥ tīrthyagaṇānām	- - - - - - - -
vaditva pu[ṇa] dupaḍitro °	vanditvā punar dvipadendram	— — — — — —
koṣalo rayo uvagami dutro	koṣalarājaḥ upāgāmīt dūtaḥ	- - - - - - - -

a: ...

b: the reception of the heretics (as subordinates).

c: After again venerating the Lord of all bipeds

d: the Kosala king went (on his way) as a messenger.

For *dvipadendra* as an epithet of the Buddha cf. SRS 14,68f.

A36: King of Kosala cites the words of the Buddha (A36=A33) to the heretics:

+ + + + + [gaṇa] _	....
[teṣa pradigra]ho tīrthigaṇāṇa °	teṣāṁ pratigraho tīrthyagaṇānām	- - - - - - - -
[i]di satamae divasāsmi [°]	iti saptame divase	— — — — — —
bhod[u] vigurvaṇa jedavaṇamī	bhavatu vikurvaṇam jetavane	- - - - - - - -

a: ...

b: the reception of the heretics (as subordinates).

c: From now on on the seventh day

d: there shall be magic in the Jetavana.

A37: The King of Kosala repeats A34 to the heretics:

+ + + + + + (ka/prā)	....
ye ?ti ca ti[rthaga] _ṇa ūniśaloge °	ye pi ca tīrthyigaṇāḥ nyakṣalokāḥ	- - - - - - - -
[i] .. + [damae divasāsmi] _	itāḥ saptame divase	— — — — — —
bhotu praδigrahiḍa gaṇi sarve	bhavatu pratigrahiṭāḥ gaṇī sarvaiḥ	- - - - - - - -

a: ...

b: and what these heretics are, (these) low people.

c: From now on on the seventh day

d: shall (the winner) be accepted by all as the leader.

A38: The message is publicly proclaimed in town:

+ + + + + rayo °	.....(>?*koṣala)rājā	... - - -
ghāṭhio [ma]ṇavo aṇavi tatra °	ghāṇṭikam mānavam ājñapya tatra	- - - - - - - -

pa . . . vi[r]u[?ṣ.] [n·] g·y[o/i]tro °	...	
ghoṣahi aja pure mi samato	ghoṣaya adya pure mama samantam	-○○○○ -○○-
a: . . . the king		
b: having ordered a lad with a bell there:		
c: ‘ . . .		
d: Pronounce today in my town everywhere:		
b: The version of the Śrāvastī Miracle translated in AD 710 by Yi Jing 義淨 from a Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya, Kṣudrakavastu (T 1451: 329-33), has a boy proclaim the date. Rhi (1991: 277) in his English translation mentions that the boy appears as carrying “Māṇava” as a personal name, while the Divyāvadāna 12, Pratyāhāryasūtra, speaks of a <i>māṇava</i> by name of Uttara (Fiordalis 2014: 19).		

A39: The content of the proclamation:

+ + + + + + + (*va)[sa]smi °	(itah saptame diva)se	(*~--- ~---)
budhavigurvaṇa jeḍavaṇasmi °	buddha-vikurvaṇam jetavane	-- ~--- ~---
teṣa vi ca ti[rthiga]ṇaṇa °	teṣām pi ca tīrthyagaṇānām	---~ ~---
trekṣasa irdhivig(ur)vana [tatra]	drakṣyatha rddhivikurvaṇam tatra	-~---~ ~---
a: (*From now on on the seventh day)		
b: (will be) magic of the Buddha in the Jetavana.		
c: And of those heretics as well		
d: you will see magic there.		

B1: Heavenly beings hear the news:

+ + + + + + + + ·o °	....
yakṣa[śaḍe] suhiḍo diśaḍasu °	yakṣaśatāḥ suhitāḥ diśadaśasu	-~---~ ~--
uparupari divapure[śu] °	uparyupari divyapureṣu	~---~ ~--
śado [śuṇiṣu] ba[hu marusamgha]	śabdam aśrauṣuḥ bahavah marusaṃghāḥ	-~---~ ~--
a: . . .		
b: Hundreds of befenelial Yakṣas in the ten regions.		
c: In the heavenly cities one above the other		
d: many congregations of gods heard the word.		

B2: People get ready for the event:

+ + + + + + + [vo °]	....
śado puṇa caradi ṣagarami °	śabdaḥ punaḥ cāryate nagare	-~---~ ~--
[aja sa]mayo gama[nae °]	adya samājāḥ gamanāya	~---~ ~--
dreksaṣa ta ṣamaṇaṇa vigurva °	drakṣyatha tāḥ śramaṇānām vikurvāḥ	-~---~ ~--
a: . . .		
b: the word is forwarded again (and again) in the city:		
c: ‘Today there are (public) meetings where we can go.		
d: You will see those magic (tricks) of the ascetics’.		
b: Although an active construction (<i>śabdaś carati</i> , e.g. Mbh 12.59,5a) is not unknown, metrics force us to prefer the passive voice (e.g. Śabara on Mīmāṃsasūtra 2.2,2, <i>śabdaḥ punaḥpunāḥuccāryate</i>).		
c: Similar are phrases like LalV 13,49 <i>ayu samayo . . . niṣkramanāya</i> , “this is the time for going out”, but <i>adya</i> is not <i>ayam</i> and <i>samayah</i> would provide severe metrical difficulties.		

B3: Continues B2:

+ + + + + + + .. _
 [ti]rthigāṇa ya parayida _ bala ° tīrthyaganāḥ ca parājītāḥ balāt - - - - - - - - -

a: . . .

b: and the heretics (will be) defeated by the force (of magic).

The remainder of the line is left uninscribed, so as to create a six-line stanza with the preceding line.

A compound *parājītabalāḥ* would meet metrical difficulties.

B4: The Buddha's seat is prepared:

+ + + + + + + .. [ṇa] °
 .. [ba v· ga ye ghi hi] purv[e] yo [s]arve ° siḥaśāṇo prañavi tatra ° simhāsanam prajñapya tatra - - - - - - -
 jeḍavaṇadiśa utara[bhag]e [?] jetavanadiše uttarabhāge - - - - - - -

a: . . .

b: . . .

c: There a lion-seat was prepared (for the Buddha),

d: in the direction of the Jetavana, in the northern part.

B5: Decorations around the Buddha's seat:

+ + + + + + .. gha °
 toliaastaraṇa ya vicitra ° tūlika-āstaraṇāḥ ca vicitrāḥ - - - - - - -
 bahu puṣpamalia prahuḍa ° bahavāḥ puṣpamallikāḥ prabhūtāḥ - - - - - - -
 yena samataḍa chayae bhumi yena samantataḥ chādyate bhūmīḥ - - - - - - -

a: . . .

b: mattresses and colourful coverings.

c: There were abundant Jasmine (twigs) with many flowers,

d: by which the earth was covered all around.

b: *tūlikā* has lost its heavy ending probably m.c.

c: Metrically difficult and one of three cases of an Aupacchandasikā extention. For *bahū* cf. B1d; understanding an alternative *bahupuṣpāḥ mallikāḥ* would produce three long syllables in a row, which seems to be forbidden.

d: For *chayae* s. commentary on Present, passive forms.

B6: Further decorations for the Buddha's seat :

+ + + + + + + + + . . .
 [dhuaṇa cadaṇa-cuṇa vimiśa °] dhūpanāḥ candanacūrvāvimiśram - - - - - - -
 [sihaśāṇo yatra jiṇasa °] simhāsanam yatra jinasya - - - - - - -
 tam kuṣumehi maru pragirisu ° tam kusumaiḥ maravaḥ prākīrṣuḥ - - - - - - -

a: . . . (scattering?) . . .

b: incense mixed with sandal-powder

c: Where the lion's throne of the Buddha was,

d: that (place) the gods strew over with flowers.

B7: The Buddha's splendor:

+ + + + + + + + + ū . . .
 yatra jiṇo raha budha viṇīḍa ° yatra jināḥ arhā buddhāḥ viṇītaḥ - - - - - - -

tam̄ śikhiō maṭhatala va °	<i>tān -~ mṛṣṭatale eva</i>	--- ----
śobhadi gaṁḍhamanuñavigirṇo	<i>śobhati gandhamanojñavikīrṇah</i>	-~--- -~--

a: . . .

b: where the Jina, the Arhat, the well-behaved Buddha (was).

c: Having . . . them on the swept floor,

d: he shines having emitted pleasant smells.

c: *khi* looks like *nva* overwritten with *kho*, defying proper understanding.

B8: Preparation of a place by the saṅgha:

+ + + + + + + pradiše °	<i>pradeśe</i> --
tirthiaṭhalasa śravagasam̄gha °	<i>tīrthikasthalasya śrāvakasam̄ghah</i>	-~--- -~--
paḍiyādae aśaṇo tatra °	<i>pratyātayet āsanam̄ tatra</i>	~--- ~--
yadiśo te svo bhavi[k]o ṇa ruṣa	<i>yādr̄śam te syuḥ bhavikam na rūkṣāḥ</i>	-~--- ~--

a: . . . the location

b: of the place for the heretics; the community of the śrāvakas

c: may prepare a seat there,

d: so that they are at happy and not unkind.

d: The meaning seems to be met with, but forms are unique. *svo* most likely hides the verb, which we equate with *syuḥ*. A similarly irregular *sa* with the same meaning is found in Glass (2007,I: 133). *bhavika* “happy” is attested, but here it needs a strong second syllable: *bhavīka* is not found otherwise. In addition, for the letter concerned, *ko* is the most likely rendering, but the right arm of a true *ka* is missing.

B9: The king comes from the palace to the competition ground: (?)

+ + + + + + + + + _____ °	<i>....</i>	
niṣkhamita mahaṭa jaṇaḍae °	<i>niṣkrāmitaḥ mahatā janatayā</i>	-~--- -~--
amaca-gaṇehi samato °	<i>āmātyagaṇaiḥ samantam</i>	--- ~--
sampariarido śohayamaṇa	<i>samparivāritah śobhayamānaḥ</i>	-~--- -~--

a: . . .

b: he came out with a large retinue,

c: with flocks of ministers on all sides

d: completely surrounded and made to shine.

B10: The king approaches the groups of heretics in the Jetavana:

+ + + + + .. [keto] °	<i>....</i>	
[te caragaparivrayagasaṁgha °]	<i>te carakaparivrājakasam̄ghān</i>	-~--- -~--
ja[mi] + [devaṇariṇara] ya °	<i>yamī(ta)devanārinarāṇ ca</i>	--- -~--
jeḍavaṇo uvaṣakrami kṣipa	<i>jetavanam upasam̄kramīt kṣipram</i>	-~--- -~--

a: . . . (? The king saw) . . . [flag],

b: these congregations of Carakas and homeless (ascetics),

c: these restrained god-women and god-men,

d: (and) went straight towards the Jetavana.

d: *pa* in *kṣipa* has received a number of frills; one could be an *anusvāra*-bend at the lower end of the vertical. The right side arm has a stroke downwards as if to add an *-o* for *po*, and this *o*-stroke has a protrusion to the right, which could be a *ra*-stroke. For the metrics of B10d cf. § on metrics. Alternatively, instead of reading *nam* as *guru*, we could postulate an otherwise unattested verb *upāsam̄kram*.

B11: Other folks and the King are exited in expectation:

+ + + + + + + + °	
kośalakaśipuruṣu samato °°	<i>kosalakāśipureṣu samantam</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
vig[u]rvana śrutva jiṇasa °	<i>vikurvanām śrutvā jinasya</i>	○○○ -○○○-
kṣubhadī jeḍavaṇe jaṇādāe	<i>kṣubhyati jetavane janatayā</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: ...

b: from around the cities (?) of Kosala and Kāśī.

c: Having heard of the magic of the Jina

d: he was exited in the Jetavana together with the (common) people.

b: *-puruṣu* scans --, and may be a mistake for *pureṣu*, rather than a mistaken *-purūṣa*, “people, servant” or another tribe or the *pūrus*.

c: *vikurvana* as a fem. noun seems to occur only here, in contrast the common neuter.

B12: Description of the masses approaching on vehicles:

+ + + + + + + + °	
rāyapaṣa diśādaśaṣu samato °	<i>rājapatham diśādaśasu samantam</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
aśpagaya pedhage yaṇe [°]	<i>aśvagajāḥ pīṭhakayānāḥ</i>	○○○ -○○○-
yehi jaṇo aviruṣa upeti	<i>yair janāḥ abhiruhya upayanti</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: ...

b: [people had come] to the main street from all directions.

c: Horses and elephants, palanquins and chariots,

d: people came by what ever (means of transport they could) mount.

B13: The well-built Buddha appears and sits down:

+ + + + + + + [·o/·i] _	....
niṣkhami..skandha-amghrie svayabhu	<i>niṣkrāmūt suskandhaaṅghriṇā svayambhū</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
acham[bi]o sihaādāe °	<i>acchambhito siṁhagatyā</i>	---○ -○○○-
asān[e] gatva niṣīḍādi niṣo °	<i>āsanām gatvā niṣīḍati nāthah</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: ...

b: came out with well(-built) shoulders and feet, the Svayambhū.

c: Without fear, with the gait of a lion,

d: the protector (Buddha) went to his seat and sat down.

b: For *su-skandha-aṅghri cf. the description of Gaṇeśa in the SKD *pīnaskandhāṅghripāñinam*.

c: In *sihaādāe* we expect a dropped velar. The lion gait (*siṁhagati*) of the Buddha is mentioned in the LalV, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Mahāvastu. A form in *-ia* would be less ambiguous, but cf. *komohae*, Skt *kaumudyām* (Silverlock 2015: 324, fn. 817).

B14: Arrive (?Mahāmaudgalyāyana) and Śāriputra :

+ + + + + + + +	
vamado tasa niṣāṇo jiṇasa °	<i>vāmataḥ tasya niṣāṇnah jinasya</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-
yo praṇa uraḍo mahatvo _	<i>yāḥ prājñāḥ udāraḥ mahātmā</i>	---○ -○○○-
daśīṇo śarisuva niṣāṇo	<i>dakṣiṇe śārisutah niṣāṇnah</i>	-○○○○○ -○○○-

a: ...

b: and sat (down) to the left of the Jina.

c: He, who is wise, noble and magnanimous,

d: Śāriputra, sat down to the right.

d) The standard form of the name /śāriputto/ would be metrically correct, in contrast to /śārisuto/, the not uncommon variant. Only the latter admits the va-śruti for to bridge the hiat in

*śarisua. However, the *su* needs to be pronounced long. Does the position at the start of the cadence facilitate such a change in quantity? For another such case cf. *bhavika/bhavīka* in B8d.

B15: Arrive more famous monks:

+ + + + + [kṣa bu/o]dh?va °	....
kacayana ṇaaḍa revado thero °	kātyāyanah nandaḥ revataḥ sthavirah	-○○○ -○ -○○○-
caḍure ahu kaśava-gotra °	caturah āhuḥ kāśyapagotrān	○○○○ -○○○-
purṇo yaśo vimalo upaṣena	pūrṇah yaśah vimalah upasenaḥ	-○○○○ -○○○-

a:

b: Kātyāyaṇa, Nanda and the elder Revata,

c: The four they call ‘the Kāśyapa-gotras’,

d: (and) Pūrṇa, Yaśa, Vimala (and) Upasena.

b: Almost all named attendants are also found at the beginning of the longer *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, apart from *kacayana* who is written here with the otherwise unusual dental *na*; metrically we must scan -○○○, against the Sanskrit equivalent. The Kācāyana *pravara* cannot be meant, cf. p. 6, fn. 2.

c: The four Kāśyapas are specified in the same *Sukhāvatīvyūha* as *uruvilvākāśyapena ca, nadīkāśyapena ca, bhadrakāśyapena ca, kumārakāśyapena*.

d: Pūrṇa, Yaśodeva and Vimala are found in the SV in one line. Upasena here looks like an *ad hoc* newcomer.

B16: Arrive 500 arhats:

+ + + + + + + + ·o °	....
pamcaśada arahata mahatma °	pañcaśatāḥ arhantāḥ mahātmānah	-○○○○ -○○○-
yehi parivarido ḡaṣo °	yaiḥ parīvaritāḥ nāthāḥ	-○○○ -○○○-
śobhadi bramo yasa marusamgħa	śobhati brahmā yathā marusamgħe	-○○○○ -○○○-

a:

b: five hundred high-souled Arhats,

c: by which the Nātha is surrounded (and)

d: shines like Brahma within his group of gods.

B17: The Buddha speaks about the Dharma:

+ + + + + + + .. °	
dharma [ya] dharmapadehi ghanīda	°dharmaṁ ca dharmapadair ghārṇitam	-○○○○ -○○○-
asio uvaśobhadi tehi	adhikāṁ upaśobhati taiḥ	○○○○ -○○○-
taraganēhi yasa uđuraye	tāragaṇaiḥ yathā uḍarājāḥ	-○○○○ -○○○-

a:

b: the Dharma was made to shine by the dharma words.

c: He became even more splendid by these (Dharma-words),

d: like the moon by the groups of stars.

b: Unclear whether ppp, *ghārṇitam* or abs. *ghārṇitvā* should be expected. In any case the meter of Vegavatī is met with.

c: The lengthened end of *asio* could be rhetorical supporting the idea of increase.

For the general statement cf. Mvu 2.115: *sa bhikṣu śobheta svayaṁbhuśāsane, nabhe va candro paripūrṇamāṇḍalo*.

B18: Pūraṇa is not amused:

+ + + + + + + + +	
ad(r)aśi b[u]dho niṣaṇo [svayabhu]	adrākṣīt buddham niṣaṇnam svayambhum	- - - - - - - - -
kva aśa ayaṇa mae paṁca °	kva syāt ayanā mama paścāt	- - - - - - - - -
ñatva duraśava logapradiva	jñātvā dūraśravam lokapradīpam	- - - - - - - - -
a: . . . (Pūraṇa?)		

b: saw the Buddha as he sat, the self-existent,

c: (He thought:) ‘Where will I settle later on?’

d: having recognized (the Buddha) as the widely famous true enlightener of the world.

Pūraṇa seems to reflect on the Buddha and his renown. Pāda c) is not at all clear. The meter requires to link *aśa* with *assa/syāt* and not with *atha*; *ayanā* could be a fem. abstract noun or a neuter plural, or another lengthening at the beginning of the cadence.

B19: The Buddha gives advice:

+ + + + + + [da] raye _	.... *rājah	
a[dadi taś(i/o)] [paδi]do °	*vadati *pradīptah	
maṣuragira abravi (ya→)śasta °	madhuragirā abravīt śastā	- - - - - - - - -
[bhohi araga (ya→)suyi maḍasatru]	bhava arāgah śucī madaśatruḥ	- - - - - - - - -
a: . . . (the king?)		
b: speaks enlightened.		
c: The teacher (Buddha) spoke with sweet voice:		
d: ‘Be without temper, be pure, and opposed to intoxication’.		

B20: and enlightens the King of Kosala, who then instructs the heretics:

+ + + + + + + [ma]to °	....
śasto muho avaloyayamaṇa °	śāstā muhuh avalokayamāṇah	- - - - - - - - -
aśa so puṇa koṣalaraye °	atha so punah koṣalarājah	- - - - - - - - -
tithigaṇa samu(dro→ya)dae sarve	tīrthyagaṇam samuddrāvayati sarvam	- - - - - - - - -
a: . . .		
b: the teacher again graciously looking down.		
c: Then in turn the king of Kosala		
d: made the whole group of heretics hasten (to meet him).		
d: The verb in <i>pāda</i> d) suffers from a correction where a bold <i>ya</i> is written on top of <i>dro</i> . We suppose that <i>samudrodae</i> was meant to become * <i>samudroyae</i> and that the scribe placed the <i>ya</i> on top of the wrong dental. <i>sam-ud-dru</i> is found in Vedic, Nirukta 2.10 and ŚB 14.2.2.2.		

B21: Koṣalarāja addresses Pūraṇa and his group:

+ + + + + + + no °	....
tusve jiṇo ačavado purve °	yūyam jinah atyāvadat pūrvam	- - - - - - - - -
a: . . .		

b: the Jina reprimanded you in the first place.

[Remainder of line was left blank.]

b: *tusve* could be a nominative or accusative, parallel to Pali (*tumhe*) or Prakrit (*tuham*). Comparing this line with B28c shows that the Buddha was meant. – *ca* with a -ya-hook on the lower right seems to mimic Aor./Imp. *atyāvadat*. For *ati-ā-vad* here and B28c cf. *atyākr*, *atibrū*, both “schmähen, reprimand”, *ativāda* “reproof”, KA 7.16,22. – Metrically, the first part of this line is singular.

B22: Continuation of B21?:

+ + + + + + + +	
[i]rdhibalaṇi vidarśido pu[rve] °	rddhibalaṇi vidarśitum pūrvam	-○○○○ -○○○-
ṣamaṇo + [hila godamo svaya]	śramaṇo ~ hila gotamah svayam	○○○○○○ -○○○-
+ + + + + + + +	
a: . . . (*was able/asked)		
b: to show (his) magic forces first.		
c: The monk, ?mahila, ?Gautama, ?		
d: . . .		

B23: Continuation of B21?:

+ + + + + + + +	
eṣapradīṇa ahu makhipala	aiśyapratijñāḥ abhūt makhapālāḥ	-○○○○ -○○○-
a: . . .		
b: The (so-called) guardian of the sacrifice (turned out) to be (just) a pretender of dominance.		
b: eṣa and pradīṇa ending in breve require a bahuvrīhi compound. Cf. ṣaṭ* śāstārapratijñāḥ as an epithet of the six false teachers in Mvu 3.383. For makhipāla cf. makhapāla as a name for Śiva in ŚivaP 7.1.23,46.		

B24: All rejoice over the defeat of the heretics :

+ + + + + + + + .. _	
d(e)vaḍa yakṣagaṇa ya piṣaya °	devatāḥ yakṣaganāś ca piśācāḥ	-○○○○ -○○○-
garuḍa .. + + +	garudāḥ	○○- . . .
+ + + + + + + +	
a: . . .		
b: the gods, the groups of Yakṣas and the Piśācas,		
c: the Garudas . . .		
d: . . .		

B25: (Unclear):

+ + + + + + + +	
+ + + [k-ś-v- mokhalipu]tro °	(pūraṇah) kāśyapah maukhariputrah	. . . -○○○-
[yakṣagaṇa] .. [hoṇa] °	yakṣaganāḥ . . .	
.. [·u] .. [yo] .. . . . ..	....
a: . . .		
b: (Pūraṇa), the Kāśyapa, the Maukhari offspring.		
c: The groups of Yakṣas . . .		
d: . . .		

B26: The Buddha stands in many copies in the sky:

+ + + + + + + + [ga] °	....
sa ku[di]ha] bahuṇa gaṇī aṭha °	sa koṭidhā bahuṇā gaṇī asthāt	○○○○ -○○○-
iḍi viṣva ḥa praḍibhai °	itāḥ viṣvag nam̄ pratibhāti	○○- -○○○-
ki puṇa irdhibalehi vi[gurva]	kim punāḥ ṛddhibalaiḥ vikurvā	-○○○○ -○○○-
a: . . .		
b: the leader of the group (the Buddha) stood there (in the sky) with many (duplicates, counting) into millions.		
c: From here (on earth) he certainly emits light in all directions.		

d: How much more (could he effect if he employed) magic with magic forces.

c: Cf. Buddhacaritam 13,29 *viṣvag vavau vāyur*. For *nam* “certainly, of course” cf. Edgerton 1953,II s.v.

B27: The heretics fight among themselves

+ + + + + + + .. °	
maḍalavaṇ[e] prabhagiō chiṇo °	<i>maṇḍalavane prabhāgitah chinnah</i>	-~~~~~ -~~~-
kalaho ya paroparo ghorō °	<i>kalahaṁ ca parasparam ghoran̄</i>	~~~~~ -~~~~~
ta[tra maha]pariṣae kariṣu	<i>tatra mahāpariṣadi akārṣuh</i>	-~~~~~ -~~~~~

a: ...

b: cut to pieces in the circular wood.

c: And terrible fights among each other

d: they created there in the great assembly.

B28: Someone is blamed:

+ + + + + + + [b]odhi °	.....	<i>bodhiḥ</i>	-~~~~~ -~~~-
yēṇa va yesa ḥayo uvaṇīda °	<i>yena vā yeṣāṁ nayah upanītah</i>		
ačāvāda maṇ· svayabhu °	<i>atyāvadat mānam svayambhū</i>	--- ~~~~	
[gur]o [ma]hava[ṣaṇo i] ...	<i>guruḥ mahāvasānah i ...</i>		~~~~~ -~[~--]

a: ... enlightenment,

b: or by whom proper behavior was taught to which people.

c: The Self-existent reprimanded your arrogance,

d: he, the Guru, the great terminator,

B29: (Focus on Pūraṇa):

+ + + + + + + [ŋo] °	....	
puraṇo [tatra] mahapariṣae °	<i>pūraṇah tatra mahāpariṣadi</i>	-~~~~~ -~~~-	
[yasa sua]ragada[malita]	<i>yathā suvarakundamālitaḥ</i>	~~~~~ -~~~-	
+ + + + + + + + +		

b: Pūraṇa there in the great assembly.

c: Like someone garlanded with the very best jasmine (garlands for cremation)

d: ...

c: Gandhi's catafalque was garlanded with wreaths of jasmine. We take the comparison as indicating that Pūraṇa looked like a dressed-up corpse. The flower written *gada* we understand as an intended **guda*. There is a thick patch of ink on the letter *ga*, keeping it still recognizable, seemingly without an *u-mātrā*.

B30: A Yakṣa appears:

+ + + + + + + + + [°]		
yakṣe ḥavha[ta]r[e] _ .. yayaro °	<i>yakṣo nabhastale (-~) cacāra</i>	-~~~~~ (*-~)~--	
pa[ri]taja[*ŋ]o puraṇo balo ///	<i>parīttaja(~) pūraṇah bālah</i>	~~~~~ -~~~-	
+ + + + + + + + +		

a: ...

b: Yakṣa he moved in the heavens.

c: Pūraṇa, the stupid, with his limited (number of) followers,

d:

c: We emendate to *paritajano* and compare LalitaV (before 25,35) *parittajanakāyā* in the description of Vārāṇasī.

B31: Pūraṇa is afraid of the Yakṣa:

+ + + + + + + .. °	
yakṣo ḡavhatare ghorāśarira °	yakṣah nabhastale ghorāśarīrah	-·····- -····-
utrasta hu [pura]ño bhido °	uttrastah abhūt pūranaḥ bhītaḥ	-··- -····-
+ + + + + + + + +	

a:

b: the Yakṣa in the sky with his frightening body.

c: Pūraṇa became shocked, frightened,

d:

B32: (Unclear):

+ + + + + + + + +		
... . . . ·o .. sarve pra .. ga °		
... . . . ya hita .. + + +		
+ + + + + + + + +		

B33: (Unclear):

+ + + + + + + + +		
+ + + + + .. + + [liye ū̄a]		
... . . . + + . . .		
[pr-đaria uvaya[tit]o ḡaśo]	pradārya? upayātitah nāthah	-·····- -····-
a:		
b:		
c:		
d: breaking through (the clouds?) the Lord approached.		

B34: Heavy rains and a curse on the heretics :

+ + + + + + + + +	
+ + [ha]stimegha [irdhiba]laṇo [°]	(-·)hastimeghah ṛddhibalānām	(-·)····- -····-
tīṭhahi ḡarita svayabhu .	tīṭha namṛte svayambhu	···- -····-
śata hu sarva gaṇi[ño] i[śeṣo]	śaptam khalu sarvam gaṇīnām aśeṣam	-····- -····-

a: . . . (They see in the sky?)

b: . . . the elephant-shaped rain-cloud (resulting) from the magic forces.

c: (The Yakṣa says:) “Live, o Svayambhu, away from him!

d: Cursed is the complete lot of the group members without exception.”

b: For *hastimegha* cf. *gajamegha* Buddhacarita 5,26, *gajaggamegha* Jāt ii,8,9.

c: An explanation of *ḡarita* here and *ḡarida*→*marida* in the next stanza (B35b) must cover both occurrences. We understand *ḡarita* in the sense of Skt *tamṛte*, “away from him”, with prakritic *nam* for *tam*, and *maride* as Skt *madrte*, “away from me”. Metrics require a spelling *rīta*, in both cases, in the sense of *-rte* or *-rahita* with the same meaning, while **irte* would be the expected G form. Simpler solutions are certainly not excluded.

d: This is the only case where the *i* in *gaṇi* scans long which leads us to assume a gen.pl.

B35: The Buddha places the Yakṣa in heaven:

+ + + + + .. (*°)	
... [l(*o)ga ḡha]hitva (ṅa→ma)rida	... lokam sthitvā madrte	(-·)-··- -····-
kṣivayami añaloga-dhadu .	kṣepayāmi anyalokadhātum	···- -····-
ta pi padikṣivi lo[ga] + [di]vo	tam pi pratikṣipi loka(to) divam	-····- -····-

- a: “ . . .
- b: (The Yakṣa?) having lived in (this/the earthen) world, away from myself.
- c: I make him inhabit yonder world.”
- d: (and) shifted him as well from (this) world to heaven.
- b: For *marida* cf. note to B35d. It was first written as *narida*, but then the first letter was overwritten including a *ma*-like semi-circle. This *ma* from Skt *mad-* is kept metrically long.

Conclusion: Luminous duplication vs. mango trick

Summing up we see several aspects. First comes the age. This version is the oldest literary one, dating from around the first century AD. The story as such was already in existence and our adaptation preserves some basic traits, as the loss of respect by the heretics on account of the Buddha’s success, their putting hope in one king (unnamed: Bimbisāra of Magadha) and their being directed to the king of Kosala (unnamed: Prasenajit). The internal reasoning among the heretics is repeated twice, first in conversation with King #1 and then with the Kosalarāja. This threefold presentation of the same arguments aims at showing the moral and political superiority of the Magadha king Bimbisāra against the Kosalarāja; it also helped our poet to fill his page.

The next element displays the Buddha’s luminosity. He appears in a multitude (*kotidhā*) of copies against the sky. In an older narrative the visualisation probably consisted in the presentation of just one “twin”, a *yamaka*, and this may have been responsible for the title of the story. The display was no real magic, nor any cheap trick, it just made visible faculties that the Buddha was always meant to possess: luminosity and levitation.

The third element is the dispersal of the heretics and the penance of Pūraṇa at the hands of a Yakṣa. From Gandharan reliefs in stone we know that Pūraṇa was forcefully pulled away from the pavilion where initially he had been lodged in honour. Our text makes this a means to prevent the heretics from becoming impolite (*rūkṣa*, B8). On an exemplary piece of art (Taddei 1985, figs. 2-3), which also shows the two kings and their men trying to pull Pūraṇa from his seat of honour, this building is destroyed by a Yakṣa wielding a Gandharan “*vajra*”. The Buddha is not shown as present, the removal of Pūraṇa is enough to define the context. Three more pieces depicting this destruction were presented by Brancaccio (1991). Here, where ever the piece is complete the Buddha commands the centre, and Vajrapāni wields his weapon against the *maṇḍapa*. On two pieces the Buddha emits water and fire. The composition has now found its final form.

Our clerk and poet was not alone. Some second person several times overwrote his letters in bold pen strokes, at least in one case (B20) producing his own error. The poet had recourse to at least one other manuscript, that dealt with different matter, which he consulted to complete the personnel needed (B15). His text version stands alone and was not used by succeeding authors. It seems our ms is the result of a poetry exercise and a such was not convincing enough to be copied by others.

Our scribe was trained and his vocabulary is soigné at places, his knowledge of *gotra* intricacies (B15) could point to a brahminical family background. He stuck to the meter with remarkable care.

So far for the literary composition. It remains to cast a glance at the story as it was enlarged beyond the basics as found in our text. A number of elements were added from a second remarkable feat of the Buddha, his descent from the Tuṣita heaven at

Sāmkāśyā. Here, the site of the descent was marked by a tree. Two old depictions, at Sanchi and Bharhut, show that the descent happened when Mango trees were not bearing fruit, and there was one Mango tree by the side of the ladder on earth which produced fruit. I interpret this not as magic practised by anyone, but as an expression of happiness experienced by the flora about the presence of the Buddha. The same experience can explain the many floral ornaments on the lintels at Bharhut showing plants exuding jewellery from within their flowers. As is well-known the Buddha forbade his followers to revert to “magic” (*māyā, rddhi*) for good reasons, but this verdict was not observed by the poets of later times: in versions younger than ours we first see a merger of the Śrāvastī event with its twin appearance and the Sāmkāśyā descent with the fruit-producing Mango tree. In some young Pali versions (Ja IV, 264, Dhp-a III, 199f.) the Buddha plants a Mango kernel into the soil and all of a sudden a full tree grows and welcomes people to its shade. However, the instantly growing mango tree is one of the standard tricks of road-side jugglers in India until today,¹³ and to depict the Buddha as having performed it ignores the dangers of such a narrative which had placed the Buddha on the same level as his juggling adversaries. Much above the level of jugglers the real Śākyamuni had commended to abstain from displaying superhuman faculties (*iddhipāṭihāriya*) because any display would be interpreted as a trick traditionally at home in Gandhāra (*gandhārī nāma vijjā*, DN i, 211), thus degrading the reputation of the *saṃgha*. However, this commandment did not keep authors from undermining it. Waldschmidt (1980-81: 498) observed that jugglers are termed *māyavid*, while the Buddha resorts to *rddhi*. In our text the terminology is different and also Pūraṇa is certain to master *rddhi* while the Buddha can do without it. All this implies that a standard mango trick has no place in early text versions, including this oldest Gāndhārī version, and consequently will hardly be found depicted in early stone reliefs at Bharhut or Sanchi.

The luminous nature of the Buddha’s display paved the way to furnish him with flames emanating from his shoulders, copying the fiery symbolism from the coinage of the Kushan kings, from Vima Kadphises, early second cent. AD, onwards (Falk 2019: 43a). Telling of the place from where the art comes, this adaption took place in the valley of Kabul, went further to Central Asia, but was ignored in Mathura. The idea of a “twin” miracle made the next generation of artists in the Kabul plains add the flow of water from his feet. The earliest text speaking of fire and water emanating from the Buddha’s body seems to be the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, linked by legends to a Kushan conqueror of Pāṭaliputra, possibly Kaniṣka. This is one generation after Vima Kadphises whose coin designs seem to have triggered the genesis of a multitude of mythologies.

The logically last stage in a series of distortions is found in the *Avadānaśataka* (Rhi 1991: 276) where magic is displayed by means of the cut-off limbs of a side figure and their restitution by Ānanda. This was supposed to prove that real magic is in the grasp of Buddhists too. Although not practised by the Buddha himself the restitution of the limbs was supported by him with a *satyagraha*. In fact, restituting cut-off limbs is just another

^{13.} Foucher (1917: 152) was aware of the profane parallel. Siegel cites a number of recent reports (1991: 129, 157, 150 on Bernier, 167 on Tavernier) and uses the Sarabhamiga-Jātaka and Kaliṅgabodhi-Jātaka (1991: 166) to demonstrate the antiquity of the trick, not distinguishing between canonical stanzas and relatively recent non-canonical prose. The trick is shown on YouTube in many variations, e.g. 39QKGknt6fE.

old trick. It works with two beings and it can happen that only one survives the show.¹⁴ Whoever interpolated this episode into the *Avadānaśataka* obviously was not aware of its eerie background.

Seen against these disparate developments our narrative is a good representative of a rather simple original.

Acknowledgement

First we thank the owner of the birch-barks who provided all liberties regarding their publication. The Munich group around Jens-Uwe Hartmann sent a number of pertinent papers on the *yamakaprātiḥārya* and proposed alternative readings or interpretations on page B. The responsibility for upholding divergent views are fully with us. The English was checked by Jim Benson, Oxford. To all benefactors we are deeply beholden.

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¹⁴. Siegel 1991: 69, cf. 270.

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Fig. 1. Side A, Split Collection

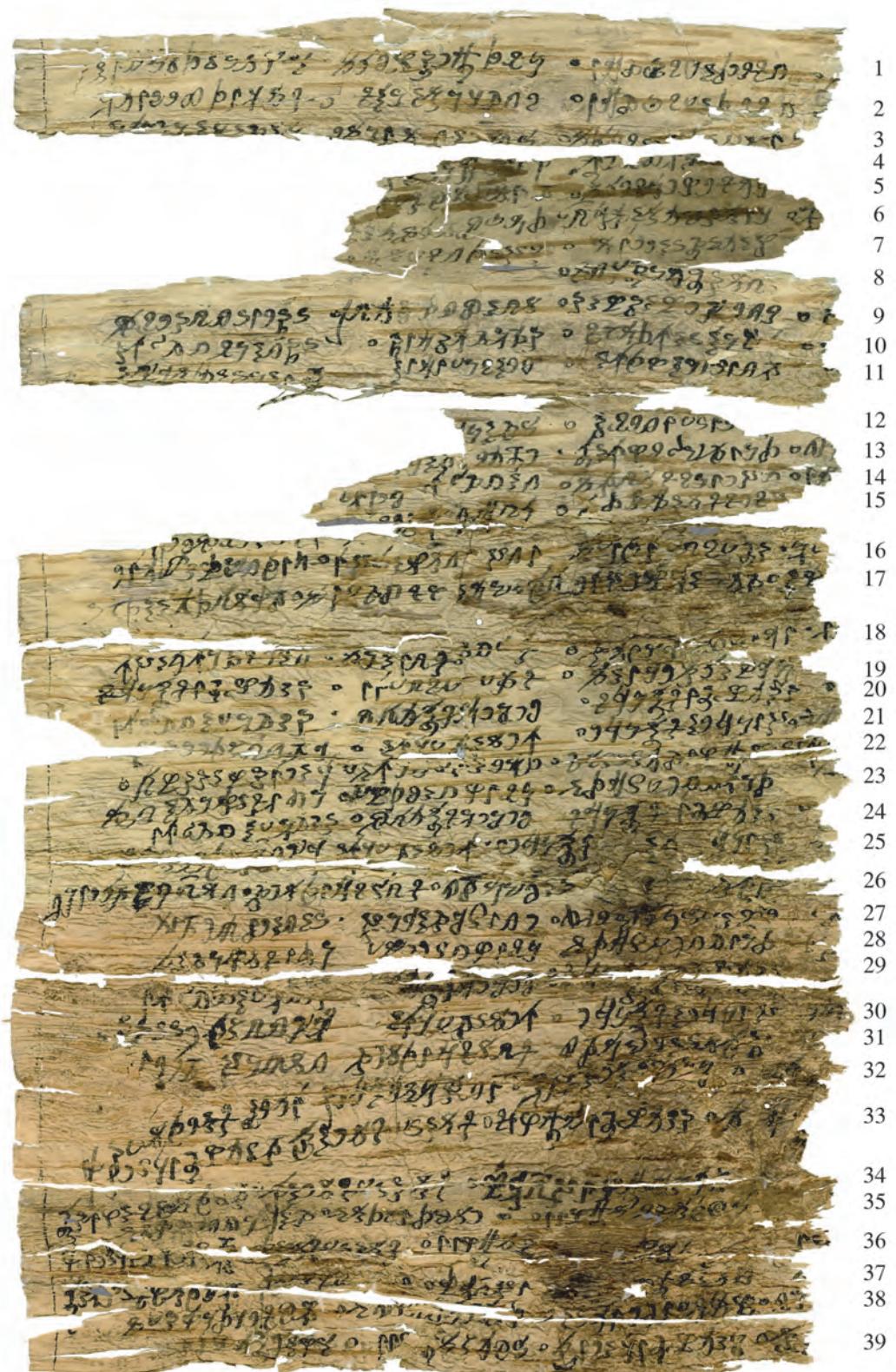


PLATE 2

Fig. 2. Side B, Split Collection

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